Adjournment Motion *re.* Land Mortgage Bank.

President.—I have received a motion for the adjournment of the House to consider a matter of urgent public importance from Mr. T. K. Nayar, the Hon'ble Member for Pazhayannur.

Though technically the motion is objectionable under section 16 of the Cochin Legislative Council Regulation and under Rule 18 of the Cochin Legislative Council Rules, by exercising my power of suspension I do not see why it should not be allowed to be moved. I therefore ask the House whether the Member has the permission of the House.

The motion is:—"*the necessity for floating an additional loan of Rs. 50 lakhs immediately for financing the urgently required Land Mortgage Bank*".

Mr. U. Kandar Menon.—I object to it.

Motion put and carried, 22 Members voting for the motion.

President.—You can have it on Monday, the 7th August, at 3-30 p. m.

General Discussion on the Budget.

Mr. K. G. Nayar.—Mr. President, Sir, this is the last budget that this Council, constituted as it is now, has the privilege of discussing, viz., the budget for the year 1109. There are many veterans in this House who have been Hon'ble Members of this Council ever since its inauguration and some for the past half-a-dozen years and almost all during the life-time of the present Council. Our experience has shown that there is not much use in a general discussion of this nature or in having cut motions on the various items of expenditure budgetted for or in attending the Councils regularly and passing resolutions or motions which the non-official Members on this side of the House feel. But my justification is that I shall be failing in my duty to my constituency if I do not voice forth the feelings of the people on an occasion like this.

Sir, it is not possible for me to discuss in detail the various items of expenditure seen in the budget; but I wish to draw the attention of the Government to certain outstanding features in its general policy of general administration which call for some radical change at present.

Mr. President, you will certainly see that Cochin, though tiny as it is now, is sure to play its important part in the future Federation of India. It has already become a cynosure of neighbouring eyes and with its development that we see around us now it is going to be an important and potent factor. That

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is all the more agreater reason for us to be still more careful in our policy of administration so that the sister States, the paramount power and the other nations of the world may not have much to grumble for any alleged mal-administration on the part of our Government. Events have of late been taking a turn for the worse in the State affairs. I am here to offer praises to none or to condemn anyone in particular and I sincerely say that in any criticism that I offer on the floor of this House I do not mean to cast any aspersion on any particular person; but I wish with all sincerity to see that such things are not repeated in our Government, at least hereafter. I wish to ask a few following general questions which the Government may be pleased to consider and answer if they choose to do so. If my questions fall on deaf ears I am not in the least disappointed. My experience has been this. If it bears any fruit, I shall have the satisfaction that I have done my duty to my constituency and to my country. (*Hear, hear*).

Sir, is it a sound policy of our administration to effect chameleon-like changes in the Standing Orders and the C. S. R. to accommodate certain people for the time being according to the exigencies of the situation then and there arising? Secondly, is it constitutional to flout the opinions of the non-official block of this House and accept the same when it suits the convenience of the Government and reject the same when it is in conflict with their views? Thirdly, is it wise administration to create certain delicate situations and temporary gaps in public service incurring much loss and expense to the State exchequer without its proportionate benefits to the Government, whereby one man may be permitted to continue here and another may be kept there who would otherwise find no place or have to retire a second time? Take it from me, Sir, that I mean nothing personal in this matter; but, as a matter of policy I want to bring it to the notice of this House. Fourthly, is it real statesmanship to sacrifice efficiency at the altar of favouritism and communalism? (*Hear, hear*). Fifthly, is it a good rule to bifurcate departments that have been working satisfactorily and duplicate the machinery of administration because the Government chooses to find an appointment for a particular person, X or Y? Sixthly, is it not a sheer criminal waste of money on the part of the Government when they are spending lakhs and lakhs of money in adventures and enterprises which are not immediately beneficial to the masses in the State? No doubt, I do admit that the schemes on which the Government have now embarked are certainly beneficial to the State. But side by side

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with such enterprises it is the duty of the Government, the paramount duty if I may say so, to see that the welfare of the masses is attended to simultaneously.

Still another feature of the Government which has come to the notice of every one associated with Cochin administration is this: Is it not lamentable to see, if I may be permitted to use that expression, an utter lack of initiative on the part of the various Heads of Departments for fear of a Democles sword of the displeasure of the Diwan or the Officiating Diwan always hanging over them? Well, Sir, there are ever so many limbs of the Government who are Hon'ble Members on the Treasury bench and I do say and I do not think that those Hon'ble Members will contradict me when I say that theirs is a position where they feel that they may be shuffled at any moment from one place to another or superseded or their claims completely overlooked, so much so that there is a clear feeling now in the various officers of the State that after all their only work in the State is to have their days somehow numbered and carry on the work allotted to them in some way or other and after that to earn a pension which they rightly deserve. There is no courage or boldness in whatever they do. Always they feel that some body else should tell them what should be done. Such a state of affairs is not at all conducive to the healthy administration of the State.

Sir, in the preparation of the budget, no doubt, there must be some real effort, and I do not propose to condemn the budget as some of my Hon'ble colleagues have done yesterday, as a mere jugglery of figures. I do not say that. But although the budget is prepared with reference to the expenses which you have to incur and the possible income that you have to get, yet, I find on comparing the figures, I have a few suggestions to make. It is easy to destruct but very difficult to construct and however much I may say on the floor of this House that the non-official opinion is this or that, it may not bear the fruit that we expect it to do.

Well, I ask the above questions regarding the general policy with the full hope that hereafter such anomalies may not recur in the administration of our State. Well, the cause is not far to seek in that matter. There is a want of organised check from the non-official Members of this House and there is no responsible legislative body in this State and the Government have not taken this House into their confidence. (*Hear, hear.*) These difficulties if remedied the earlier, the better in the interests of the administration of the State.

After these general remarks I wish to offer some suggestions regarding the various departments. In the matter of the

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General Administration I would strongly urge upon the kind attention of the Government that they must have some fixed rules regarding recruitment to service, confirmations and promotions in the public service of the State. Let not those rules be liable to fluctuations as and when an individual likes to change it. It is only that stability that will certainly add to the fair name of the Government here. Secondly, I would say that after the Franchise Committee submits its report to the Government they will do well to consider whether it is not desirable to give more seats for our women in the country and not to have the representation of women only through a nominated member as we are now having. Thirdly, I would suggest that, as you, Sir, would now be feeling this irksome task of remaining in the Chair for eleven full days in the absence of our revered Deputy President, it is but proper, as is done in other legislative bodies, that there be a Panel of Chairmen here, so that, in the event of the President or the Deputy President not being available, there may be somebody else to take the Chair and conduct the deliberations of the House.

Then, Sir, I have only one thing more to say while tackling this subject, regarding a particular office which according to me seems to be really anomalous. It was adverted to by my Hon'ble colleagues here yesterday. It is about the Secretary to the Diwan. I wish to say something more in connection with that. I feel from what has been going on for the past two years and from what I have heard from my Hon'ble friends who have greater experience of Cochin State's affairs that the Hon'ble the Secretary to the Diwan is neither a Secretary to the Diwan nor a Secretary to any particular person, but at the same time he occupies the position of Secretary to all. Permit me to say, Sir, that the present Confidential Clerk can better be called the Secretary to the Diwan than the Hon'ble Member who is now occupying the seat there. That Hon'ble Member has, I am afraid, the additional sin of being a Prince of the Royal Family which qualification of his has, I am told, stood in his way in the official ladder of promotions, although his admitted ability has been recognised on all hands. I would certainly say that Secretary to the Government or Chief Secretary to the Government will be a more proper designation for that Hon'ble Member as is seen in other Legislatures. These general observations on the General Administration I wish to make.

Coming to the Land Revenue Department I have a few suggestions to the Leader of the House which if put to practical experience, will solve many a problem that is confronting him. Sir, you will see from experiments made in the sister States that

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this problem of unemployment is solved a good deal by the assignment of Sirkar Poramboke lands to unemployed educated men, thereby compelling them to work out their own salvation and shape their destinies. Cannot our Government of Cochin find out a solution for this unemployment problem among the educated men by trying to assign Poramboke lands to those of the educated unemployed men who want to take up agriculture or any other industry, provided facilities are given to them by the Government?

Secondly, I would request the Leader of the House to see that in the matter of agricultural loans to the agriculturists some greater concession is made by the Government till the Land Mortgage Bank becomes an accomplished fact in this State. I see from the questions and answers to-day that not much has been done in that direction and for the past two years the Chittur Taluk has been getting nothing. I am not referring to any particular taluk but I make that only as a side reference.

Thirdly, I would just remind the Hon'ble Leader of the House that in cases where he finds that the agriculturists ought to be afforded more relief when there is a total failure of crops, etc., some sort of tangible help over and above the agricultural loans now granted by the Government, may be granted to them. Sir, the remission of revenue that the Government has been pleased to give will not be in any way an adequate relief to the suffering masses of the country. Something more tangible is necessary. I see from the Finance Member's preamble and the concluding portion of his speech that the Hon'ble Member has extended out large sympathy for the suffering people. I would request the Government to translate that sympathy into practical action.

Sir, we have only read a few days back the miserable plight of four graduates of the Calcutta University pulling rikshaws on the ground of dignity of labour and a few months back we saw in the papers that American school girls, while going to schools went with motor lorries of wheat to measure out their fees in kind, being unable to pay cash to the institutions. Such is the miserable plight that we see around the world and it is up to us here to see that we get proper facilities in the State to tap our resources, especially the agricultural and industrial side of it and afford greater relief to the agriculturists than what is being done now.

A word to the Hon'ble Member for Law. Sir, you will certainly see that the present Hon'ble the Law Member is well-versed in the field of criminal law and since it is now more

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than two years I brought the suggestion that our Criminal Procedure Code requires amendment, I hope that the Hon'ble the Law Member wil kindly see that it is an accomplished fact before we meet in Vrischigam next. With my experience of the disposal of criminal cases in Cochin State I must bring to the notice of this House that there is much delay in the disposal of many criminal cases in our State. One of the essential features of the administration of criminal justice is that the more speedy the disposal the better for all concerned. That aspect of the matter I wish to impress upon the attention of the Law Member so that he may take early steps to see that our magistracy rises up to the occasion and that no room is given for the suspense of a long trial in the fair name of justice. One word in passing. Just as we find all our Munsiffs eager to have their disposals and show their statistics very clearly, similarly their example may be copied by the Magistrates also. In this connection may I also suggest that it will be better if all the Munsiffs also areprovided with Short-hand typists so as to enable them to minimise their work by dictating judgments? The Hon'ble the Law Member may be pleased to consider it and see that it is put into force.

Coming to the PoliceDepartment, I must confess I do not see the necessity for adepartment called the C. I. D. in our State. At a time when, everywhere the C. I. D. is looked down upon by the public and when you do not realise any pleasure in a C. I. D. shadowing you and at the same time with the possibility of further troubles being brought upon you by a C. I. D., when all these circumstances are not in favour of establishing a C. I. D., it is rather curious to see that our State should embark upon such ascheme now. I would seriously say, as one of my Hon'ble friends remarked, that just as we have District Intelligence Bureaus in British India, a Crime Intelligence Bureau in the State with some of the officers now in service in the Police department being asked to gather statistics for the information of the public in the State, is the only step that is required now, and not a regular establishment of a C. I. D., which I submit is an unnecessary superfluity in the State.

In the matter of the P. W. D. I must say that in spite of the crying needs of the day and in spite of the fact that on more than one occasion many a member has impressed upon the attention of the Government the dire necessity of widening the Irrigation department and having many more irrigation facilities for our State, it is really sad to see that that is not put into actual fruition. Speaking for my constituency in this connec-

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tion I can boldly assert that my little Nemmara has been impoverished for want of these facilities. Years ago this matter was brought to the notice of the Government and many a time deputations waited both on the Diwan and the other members of the Government and even during the last Session of the Council when this matter was discussed the then Engineer for Government opined that ere long they will do something for that place. Now I am told that they have dropped any such idea and I do not see any amount provided for in the budget for irrigation facilities in that place. At the same time I may tell you that although there is sympathy shown in the Finance Member's speech and the speeches of the other Government Members in previous years for the ryots, yet, is it not sad to see that on the Ghat Road in Nemmara leading to the Nelliampathies the Government now propose to introduce a toll? Hon'ble Members who have had the honour of visiting the Nelliampathies—God forbid they should do so again—will certainly realise that the establishment of a toll-gate in that locality, where all around there is only agricultural population frequenting the place, will be only putting an additional burden on them.

President.—The Hon'ble Member has already exceeded five minutes. His speech was so interesting that I did not know that the time was passing.

Mr. K. G. Nayar.—Thank you, Sir, very much, for the compliment. I only wish to say that you, as President of the House, will convey to His Highness the Maharaja our loyal felicitations and at the same time, representing to His Highness that the peoples' representatives have such grievances as I have represented till now which must ere long be redressed by His Highness the Maharaja.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.—Sir, during yesterday's budget discussion some of my Hon'ble friends had occasion to comment upon the veritable epidemic of unintelligibleness that has befallen the Hon'ble Members on the Treasury bench, in these days. I may point out to them with all respect that it is not entirely a case of real unintelligibleness, but it is really a case of deliberate, impotent, ineffective attempts at evading vital issues that affect the safety and tranquillity of this country. I am sorry, Sir, that I was not present on the occasion to give some more light to my Hon'ble friends on this aspect of the question.

Sir, I am not, for my part, prepared to congratulate the Finance Member for scrapping the pittance of a surplus in the budget under discussion, for nobody has ever been deceived by the sham of such government surpluses. No doubt our State has balanced and prosperous budgets year after year; but it is

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an irony of fate that this prosperity of the government budget is built upon the hopelessly deficit family budgets of the thousands of its tax-payers. The mal-adjustment between the prosperous government budget with its surplus and the starvation family budgets of the majority of the people in the State is the malady of our body politic.

Sir, I do not want to tax the patience of the Hon'ble Members by entering into an elaborate criticism of the manipulations of the Finance Member to balance the budget. That will be appropriately and advantageously dealt with when the demands are moved. At present I want to confine myself to two important points, namely, the constitutional issue and the jurisdiction of the Harbour area.

As regards the former, it is true that much has been said in last year's budget discussion. But as an Hon'ble Member then observed, repeated hammerings are necessary to produce an impression in the chronically unimpressionable mind of our benign Government. Last time, when the question of constitutional issue was raised in the Council the Hon'ble Members were lulled into inaction by the siren song of a few silver-tongued officials. The then Leader of the House even went to that extent of delivering a homily on the modern concepts of democratic government and lamented on the backwardness and antideluvianism of the political sense of the non-official members. In his customary soporific eloquence intended to disarm opposition, he declared that the demand of an Executive Council was simply childish in as much as that institution was fast dying out elsewhere, and that an agitation should be made for a Cabinet system of Government. While thanking him for keeping us informed of the evolution of popular governments in modern times, and for instilling into us such revolutionary ideas, we refuse to be drawn into that snare of abandoning our attempt to secure an Executive Council for the State. It was really surprising that the mouthpiece of an eminently conservative Government, always afraid to move with the times, went out of his way to advice the non-officials to agitate for a Cabinet system of Government, ignoring quite intentionally the solid fact that political growth is generally effected by degrees. Thus, that answer was meant only to appease the non-officials. I would only quote "Vain is the net that is spread in the sight of the birds".

Another objection raised to the institution of an Executive Council was that the power and prestige of the opposition would dwindle when the administration is carried on by the help of an Executive Council consisted mainly of non-official

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elected members, backed by a majority in the Legislative Council. I can't understand how this is so. That is a negation of all principles of democracy. If the member responsible for that statement was delivering the funeral oration of all democratic forms of government I have nothing to say. In that event I would suggest that Hitlerism should be given a trial and that this Council should be immediately scraped.

Another excuse for postponing the introduction of a responsible government is that even now the Government is carried on by mutual consultation among the Heads of departments once in three months, and that this meeting of the departmental heads was hailed as a form of Executive Council !! If the meeting of a set of gangsters.....

President.—It is unparliamentary.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.—Sir, it is only a simile. I am not calling them gangsters.

If the meeting of a set of gangsters to discuss the best way of relieving people of their belongings without the least regard for their sentiments can be considered as safeguarding the interest of those whom they loot, then I shall certainly admit that this supposed meeting of the departmental heads (which in fact seldom meets) serves the purpose of an Executive Council.

Thus all the excuse raised against this humble demand for advancement in the direction of self-government, are utterly lame and the Government will do well to satisfy the wishes of the people if they want to avert serious consequences. There is no use of quibbling on words. If the Government is in real sympathy with the aspirations of the people let them show it in a tangible form. Otherwise let them say boldly that they are not prepared to meet them. Then the duty of the non-officials will be clear, and they know well how to move. Had we a millionth part of the sense of service and spirit of sacrifice of our compatriots, had we risen above our petty selfishness and pernicious factiousness, we would have been redeemed long ago. Pray, brothers dear, let us try to place duty above everything. Let us unite on the call of duty. Let us rectify our human errors and be true to our Highest Selves. That joy of life no cringing wordly possession can purchase.

About the question of Harbour jurisdiction : In spite of many a joint deliberation no decision has been arrived at in that matter. The reports that appear in the press and the rumours generally prevalent here are causing grave misgivings in the minds of the people and the recent appointment of a Special Collector for British Cochin is, to my mind, an ill-wind that blows tiny Cochin no good. Notwithstanding the strongest

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opposition put forward by the Diwan and the promise given by the Leader of the House last year, against handing over the jurisdiction of the Harbour area to the British Government, various impediments are being put forward by interested parties to deprive Cochin of what is clearly her legitimate rights. It should clearly be understood by the Government that the people of this State will not stand any nonsense of relinquishing the right of jurisdiction of the Harbour area. Even if half-a-dozen Davidsons more are to come forward advocating transfer, the Government should resist such attempts with their utmost ability and resource. I can assure them that the people of this State will solidly stand behind them. It is well to remember here that the inadvertent grant of jurisdiction by Cochin Government to the Portuguese and Dutch long ago is responsible for the existence of what is now known as British Cochin ; and if history is going to repeat itself the small, but educationally most advanced State of Cochin will be blotted altogether out of the map of India.

Mr. P. S. Kesavan Nambudiri.—Sir, while discussing the budget before us I like to point out only some of the salient features of the constitutional and administrative side of our State. This is a critical period in her political and constitutional history. The permanent Diwan is mainly occupied with her foreign affairs, attending the important conferences at Madras, Delhi, Simla, London and elsewhere. Perhaps like a true benevolent despot with the best of his intentions he might be doing the utmost in the interest of our State. But unfortunately we are denied the proud privilege of being taken into his confidence in consulting matters that matter very much the destinies of the present and future generation of our country. Nay, besides the scraps of newspaper reports, for want of reliable source of information like a press communique or a Government publication, we are even kept in utter darkness of what he has been really doing in this matter.

Sir, it is reported that in the memoranda he has submitted before the Davidson Committee, the Round Table Conference and the Joint Select Committee he has fought and strenuously fought for the legitimate rights and privileges of the State. This may be perfectly true as far as and only so far as the interests of the ruler are identical with those of the ruled. But what is the position when their interests are contradictory? In the federal legislatures who is to represent the State? The nominee of the Government or the elected representative of the people? What is to be the form of the Home Government? These are vital matters to us.

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Sir, I am conscious of the recent privileges accorded to us by the present Maharaja, namely, the extension of franchise, the right to elect the Deputy President and to ask supplementary questions. But when compared with the state of affairs in British India these are insignificant and not even worthy of mention. The London Times comments:—

"There are suggestive indications in the Simon Report that the best of the States are already making progress, by no means incomparable with that of British India in all these directions which tend to political understanding. In education, for instance, which lies at the root of political understanding a number of them can show a percentage of literates which is already far ahead of the average for British India. The Southern States of Travancore and Cochin head the list with figures which more than double the average. There is clearly no reason in the capacity of these peoples or their princes any more than there is in their races, religions or interests, why they should not take their shares, in the common heritage—a solid federal body—in a position of absolute equality with the federal provinces of British India.

Yesterday we were told by the Hon'ble Secretary to the Diwan in his speech at the Maharaja's College that in the federal constitution as far as the financial commitments of the States and their privileges and responsibilities are concerned. Native States are to be on a par with the British Indian provinces. But Sir,, before entering the federation, if our constitution is not developed, at least up to the level of those in British India, we will feel our inferiority complex and find ourselves unworthy of being equal partners in the Greater India. Therefore instead of watching in an idle manner the affairs in British India and procrastinating everything here until the advent of the millennium there, let us mind our own business, march quickly forward, carrying the time-honoured traditions of the democratic institutions of ancient Kerala, adapt them to modern conditions and blow the caunch of democracy and rightly deserve the honour of being the Athens of modern India.

As regards our representation in the federal legislatures, our prospect is too gloomy. Not a word is mentioned either in the memoranda submitted by the Diwan or in the Round Table proposals to indicate that we will get representations there on an elective basis so that the people's voice might be effectively heard. Therefore we must insist that in the Instrument of Accession it should be written in bold characters that the State is to be represented in the federal legislatures by elected representatives of the people. That privilege is our only consolation for the heavy sacrifices we have to make for entering the federation.

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Then Sir, with regard to the internal administration of our State, I have very little to contribute in addition to what my Hon'ble friends have done before me. The permanent Diwan being engaged in the foreign affairs of the State, the domestic policy is directed one day by the acting Diwan, another day by the Diwan Peishkar in-charge and the next day by the Offg. Diwan. A thorough knowledge of the field survey or the Jamabandhi is not enough for the Executive Head of the General Administration. He must possess a very broad outlook, original ideas, a well-defined plan of work and the will and capacity to work out that plan. The officiating Diwan with the best of intentions used to undertake extensive tours in the different parts of the State, giving wide publicity in the Gazette and piously prayed for the success of his administration. But with what result? There is a sort of popular discontent and dissatisfaction with the general administration and that is reflected in the press outside and on the floor of this House. Security proceedings were taken against a journal, but wisely that was dropped by the Government. Questions after questions have cropped up in this House condemning the actions of the officiating Diwan. It is said that hasty orders are passed on questions of grave importance without bestowing mature considerations upon them. In the matters of new recruitment to the public services, confirmations and revision of salary there is no definite and consistent principle. There is a desperate fear in every branch of administration that what is done in the past regime will be undone at present and that retribution is in full swing. Thus with no disparagement to anybody I may say that the officiating Diwan's domestic policy has been one of dismal failure. The State is groaning under his antediluvian administration and the sooner she gets rid of it the better for all concerned. Let old order changeth giving place to new, as is the order of the day.

Mr. George Chakyamuri.—Sir, I do not want to discuss the details of the budget. I shall rest content with the offering of a few observations on some of the salient questions that are now in the public eye. The outstanding question of the day, as I see it, is the question of the Constitutional reforms. Enough has been said here by many of the Hon'ble Members on this side of the House on this question. I only wish to add that time is now ripe for the Government to seriously consider the question of handing power to the elected representatives of the people. In his opening remarks the Diwan-President was pleased to lay much emphasis on the labours of the Franchise Committee. I respectfully beg to point out that the labours of the Franchise Committee, as it is at present constituted, is not

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going to result in the extension of the franchise. It is intended to be a lead in the advance of constitutional reforms to a certain extent, but that is not the point that has to be considered now. Discussions are going on in England and evidence is being tendered at the Joint Parliamentary Committee. One thing outstanding is that the British Indian provinces are going to get provincial autonomy and provincial autonomy means complete control of internal administration as far as these provinces are concerned. If the provinces in British India are to get complete control over their own internal affairs, I fail to see why an advanced State like Cochin that has been in the fore-front of almost all the Indian States, should not be conceded that privilege. I mean to say as a matter of fact that Cochin by her position is entitled to more. But the minimum that we Cochinites would accept is constitutional reform on the lines of provincial autonomy and it is time that the Government responsible for the matter think about it. It won't serve any useful purpose in indefinitely waiting for the labours of the Franchise Committee. I would therefore urge upon the Government the immediate necessity of constituting another committee to go into this question of constitutional reforms, since only one aspect of the question will be solved by the Franchise Committee. Let the other important aspect be taken by that committee and let us have constitutional reforms, at least on the lines that are going to be given to the British provinces. We have one decided advantage in this respect. We have at present a Maharaja who is only too ready to concede to his beloved people as much power as can be given and we have also a sympathetic Diwan who has been ever since his arrival here trying to help the people of Cochin in the advancement of constitutional reforms. Now we have got some minor reforms. But I say they are not worth being called constitutional reforms. Right to elect the Deputy President and right to ask supplementary questions are not constitutional reforms. They are mere subsidiary rights. I would therefore once more request the Government to consider seriously the question of giving real constitutional reforms to the people of the State. There is no use of blaming the executive; there is no use of finding fault with them for drawing their pay. We want to see that the resolutions passed by this House are unanimously accepted by them and carried into effect.

The second point to which I would like to draw the attention of the Government is the question of the Harbour. I would respectfully beg to submit that the Government is doing a very foolish thing in not taking the representatives of the people at

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least into their confidence in this matter. As has already been expressed here by many of the Hon'ble Members it has become a wide-spread feeling that Cochin is going to lose her Harbour in the course of the inter-statal conferences, councils, and discussions. When there is such a wide-spread feeling all through the State, I regard it as the fundamental duty of any statesman in charge of the affairs at once to take the people into their confidence so that you may not be held solely responsible for accepting terms which you ought not to have accepted. Whatever may be the trend of the conferences and councils, I could predict one thing and I am certain that it is going to be and that is, in my humble opinion, these conferences and the putting off of the conferences and additional conferences and councils are only a long rope even for the Cochin Darbar to hang themselves. When it comes to that the British Government will try to obtain public opinion by means of these conferences. An official memorandum will be issued saying His Majesty's Government want only hopes that the Darbar would accept the proposals contained therein. Then your Police Commissioner and Military have to simply blink. That day is coming on. They would certainly show all sorts of tricks for obtaining public opinion and to enlist sympathy for them. They will say, 'we tried our level best to make them come to reasonable terms, but now as they do not come to reasonable terms we are forced to tender our advice". And the advice will be conveyed by a letter through a white peon whom you will have to meet at Shoranur. Garden parties will be given. The terms will be accepted and Harbour will be theirs. This I say is going to be the outcome of all negotiations. If then those who are at the helm of affairs take the people into their confidence, the blame will not be theirs alone. You must remember that you are dealing with people who came here with a Pathamar full of things and who pocketted the whole of India. Will it be difficult for them to solve the question of the Cochin Harbour in the way in which they want it to be solved? Therefore I once more request the Government to take the representatives of the people at least into their confidence in this all-important matter.

Then with regard to the question of the economic depression. There was much criticism here in this House with regard to the very unsatisfactory way in which the Government was trying to tackle the problem of economic depression. As I said in the beginning there is no use of finding fault with the heads of departments in this matter. That is to say, heads of departments carry out the orders of the Government. I would submit, the one thing that is needed is a bold and imaginative

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policy to be initiated by the Head of the Central Government and to be worked out for a number of years so as to relieve the existing depression. As long as the Government is issuing whips and force the heads of departments to collect as much revenue as possible, they will have to do it. Therefore no useful purpose will be served by condemning heads of departments. I would say, the one thing that should be done by the central Government is to initiate at once some bold policy by which substantial relief could be given to the suffering ryots. I would suggest one thing which would be of material advantage to the people of this taluk—I speak particularly with reference to cocoanut cultivation. I have had occasion to suggest this more than once before and that is to give some sort of relief to verumpattomdars and kanam tenants of the State who are particularly engaged in cocoanut cultivation. At present the situation is, an ordinary verumpattomdar is not in a position to realise anything out of the cocoanut trees, verumpattom being 8, 9 or 10 annas per tree. Of course, the question may be asked how the Government can give some relief to them. I would say, at least to show the earnestness of the Government they can tackle these problems with regard to the institutions under the control of the Government. I refer to Amma Raja's Estate and the Devaswams which are directly under the management of the Government. As it is, these properties which are purchased at Rs. 2,000 or 3,000 per acre don't yield anything. If the Government at least start this as an example to the other jenmies, I may assure the Government that the other jenmies will follow suit. This is the first step towards a scheme of economic uplift of the suffering masses.

I would like to offer a few remarks with regard to the administration of the Agricultural Department and that is I would request the Government to get down a really qualified gentleman to take charge of this department, who will be able to grapple with the troublesome situation. I refer to the pest that broke out in Kumbalangy about 6 months ago. About 7,000 trees were destroyed by this pest. I interviewed the Superintendent immediately after the pest broke out and said that the situation is serious and action must be taken. The Superintendent in fact did not take immediate action. I wrote to the Diwan and my letter was forwarded to the Superintendent. Nothing was done until 7,000 trees were practically destroyed. About 3 or 4 people known by their big names—Entomologist, etc.,—I don't know what they are—went there with a machine and pipe and wanted to spray with some medicines. About seven trees were sprayed. In the meanwhile the engine broke and these gentlemen came away giving advice to the people and saying

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"we have set you an example. You will have to spend money and spray the other 7,000 trees". What is the example set? The example is that after spraying seven trees the machine must break. (*Laughter*) And what happened was after the rains started the thing cured itself which is a clear indication of the fact that a spraying with mere *aqua regia* would have cured the disease. I am not joking. It is a very serious matter and for the next two years these trees won't yield I would respectfully submit before the Government that it is high time to think of a technically qualified man who will be able to tackle this problem efficiently. What is actually done is this. There is a Gazette notification, that such and such a pest has started and so and so is appointed the officer. But unfortunately these are not communicated to the insects. They don't care a jot for the proceedings. This is what is being done. I do not blame the department, because they have not got qualified men. Because our State is small, only one-hundredth of Madras Presidency—it does not mean that we require only one-hundredth efficiency. I submit it is causing very serious hardship to the people. Mere Gazette notifications and issuing injunctions won't help the trees from pests. What I submit is it is high time that the Government think of getting a person who is really trained in this kind of work. If the Government cannot afford to send students to London and other places, I know there are Cochinites who are actually going on training there. They may be instructed to undergo special training in this subject and appointed here. Cochin is an agricultural country and I do not know what is the earthly use of maintaining this department.

A word about the Excise Department and that is: I have only to congratulate the Hon'ble Member of Excise for the very bold policy he has adopted in giving up a useless and futile experiment he was carrying in Nemmara. I had already occasion to say that it is a futile experiment, even though some of the Hon'ble Members were not inclined to take it seriously. It is a futile experiment which is only going to cost Government unnecessary waste. I am glad that the Government have realised it and honestly and boldly stated that it is not going to do any good. With these observations, Sir, I resume my seat.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—Sir, while I regret the extremely deplorable absence of brains in Cochin which compelled Diwan Mr. Herbert to disturb you, Sir, in your well-earned but active retirement, I congratulate you on being able, at least in your second, and, I hope, not the last, official career, to possess for a considerably long period, the exalted seat which you occupy to-day. But in so congratulating you on the rather belated, rather unexpected and perhaps forced recognition of your merits,

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I cannot assign to oblivion the seriousness of the issue raised by the continued absence from the State, on State business or otherwise, of the permanent Diwan, who, after all, is the person responsible to the people, for the time being, for the good administration of the State. The time has come for the people to question rather seriously and anxiously whether it is proper for the Diwan to absent himself from the State for such long periods in quick succession, entrusting the whole administration to an officiating hand. I console myself that the permanent Diwan with his frequent exits has not reduced himself to the position of a good natured Jenmi induced to part with his lands by sycophantic and scheming attendants. It is important to remember that if the State had to fall back upon foreign Diwans, it was not without the greatest justification. Native Diwanship tried for nearly a decade had failed and failed miserably, especially in that it was helpless and surrendering where the inroads on the rights of the people had to be boldly faced. In spite of the difficulties that caste and creed threw in the way of certain people in entering the Government services, no permium had been placed on the scions of any one, even the very highest, in the matter of recruitment to such services. But a decade ago things began to change. Eight years ago I protested from the floor of this House against the appointment of the present Chief Engineer of the State. I could not really see how any Diwan could effectively control, supervise and check the actions of an officer, so long as that officer is the son of the reigning Maharaja, especially when the officer in question happens to be the head of a department.

Latterly, closely following this precedent many other appointments have been made which the people are compelled to trace to certain factors behind the appointees which the ordinary citizen cannot claim or obtain. The latest instance of the appointment of a very young man on Rs. 200 to 400, I mean the Director of Public Health, and, before his new department has had time to work for a few months, the revision of his salary by increasing it to Rs. 450 to 650 is a shocking instance of present-day nepotism symbolical of the growing menace against the fundamental and the elementary rights of the citizen. Not only in appointments is that nepotism manifesting itself. In the names of persons and causes, outside the ambit of this House's consideration, large amounts are spent year after year, large commitments are made from time to time, whose burdens the citizens have patiently to bear in the years, nay ages, to come. Sir, against all these the only protecting hand now available is the hand of the Diwan. What then, if that Diwan absents himself

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from the State and is unable therefore to check vagaries or if he makes common cause with the forces undermining the rights of the people.

We come here year after year, session after session and attempt, to the best of our ability, to tender such advice as we believe may keep the Government out of the rocks and shoals ahead. We may be right, we may be wrong; but I am certain that the non-official members have succeeded in stopping effectively large leakages of Government money. If the working of the Forests and Tramway has improved and become more profitable, if items here and there in Government expenditure aggregating ultimately to very large figures have been saved for the Government, if vagaries in travelling have been checked to bring its figures down, if medical supplies have been forced to be purchased with better publicity and safeguards saving considerable amounts for the State, all these have been accomplished by the advice and co-operation of this House. But, Sir, we have to ask ourselves for what we have co-operated in this saving and with what result. Under the guise of non-votable items, very large amounts are spent by the Diwan without the consent, even without the knowledge, of this House. By voting against the T. A. of an officer or the increase in the salary of a subordinate in service we save the Government a few hundreds or a few thousands. And we go on saving like that every year. But by one stroke of the pen, lakhs, nay, crores are spent on the Harbour and the Railway; palaces and bungalows rise up at the expenditure of many thousands; Government property enjoyed by the people is assigned to individuals; large quantities of Government timber are freely gifted away to influential members of the society and so on and so forth. Under such circumstances, Sir, why should we come here, why should we co-operate with the Government? We do so because we are a loyal people and we would rather co-operate and lose than non-co-operate; co-operate, even though at the risk of losing self-respect.

It is the aforesaid spirit of co-operation in us that compels me to refer to the attempt of the Government to enter into some agreement with an outside agency for the supply of electricity in the State. We had our own schemes, precious Cochin money had been spent on schemes, for generating electricity, long before anyone even thought of Pykara. Now, Sir, what is it that the Government are going to commit themselves to in regard to Pykara? They are, if rumour has reported correctly, undertaking to guarantee the payment of a minimum of Rs. 3 lakhs a year to the authorities of the Pykara scheme and that for a

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period of 15 years and to invest immediately 10 or 15 lakhs over the accessories for distribution. Sir, have you considered whether you can collect Rs. 3 lakhs a year from the State by distributing electricity? It is feared that even half of it cannot be got, exclusive of the expenditure. The mill owners of Trichur are reported to have refused to take the Pykara power as they can work their mills at a smaller cost, on fuel, as at present. If so, Sir, what a large burden are you placing upon the shoulders of the people? Why not you conduct a survey to ascertain the probable consumption of power in the State and venture upon commitments after you have armed yourself with the necessary data? The step that you are taking now is a leap in the dark. The leap is peculiar because the fall does not affect those who leap. They will get their pay, and that uncut. But the backbone that will be broken is the backbone of the people.

You have brought the Harbour upon the people, you have forced the broad-gauge upon us, you have taken partners in the Harbour without consulting the people and now you are negotiating regarding a probable loss of jurisdiction without taking the people into your confidence. For all that you have done the people and the country now stand committed to. Pray let there not be any other commitments. Let us not be told when we wake up on a morn that we have to contribute to the Pykara Power Scheme Rs. 3 lakhs a year for a period of 15 years. Let us not be told to-morrow that Cochin has lost jurisdiction over the finest tracts which she possesses. Let us not also be told that the Harbour has been promised to be sold to a future federation in India and what belonged to us through ages has suddenly ceased to be ours. Officers come and officers go, rulers come and rulers go, but Cochin lives on for ever. From the floor of this House I emphatically protest against all such executive orders which this House or the people are unable to check but which lay large burdens on the heads of the people. Your contributions to the Hindu and the Madras Universities, the unnecessary and uncalled for increase in salary you have given to your Heads of Departments, your consultations and activities regarding the harbour, the question of jurisdiction and the Round Table Conference, what a lot of money they have cost the people? And on these did you really represent the people or their views? Have the Government ascertained in any way the views of the people on these questions of far-reaching importance? Doyou know whether the schemes you have prepared are acceptable to the people or in their best interests?

This brings me to the question of Constitutional Reforms in the State. As I find it, we here are either a pack of beggars

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or the onlookers of a cinema performance. We beg and a few pennies are thrown out to us at times. More often than not we are told to try the next door. We are shown the agility of Government performance. We are shown the picture of people's money disappearing. We know there is an operator. That operator is independent of us. The rays pass over our heads on to the screen. If we raise our heads or hands in protest, a shadow momentarily falls on the screen but the film moves on without check and finishes its course without a stop. Sir, this is what goes on now. We have found ourselves a body without power or responsibility and, as events prove, losing our remaining self-respect every moment we continue here. I for one cannot say that the administration of Cochin has improved since the establishment of this Council. It has deteriorated and deteriorated considerably. Nepotism has grown. The rights of the people are every minute encroached upon. Privileged sections founded on new and recently established foundations have come to stay. The cry of the Council against such nepotism has been treated as worse than cries in the wilderness. While people wail, while people lose, while people suffer, while floods do havoc, while draughts destroy the crops and ushers in famine, while depression reduces the people to poverty, while epidemics roam and people suffer and die, the Government goes on merrily, restores the cut, collects their revenues to the last pie, invite the people to drink to their hearts' content, restore drinking in prohibited areas, allow people to gample in the most unhealthy competition in the matter of Government made monopolies and succeed in showing a surplus, enabled to do so by letting the people sink deep in the mire. Sir, have you made the lives of the citizens better, happier or more worthy of living than the past? Do your administration throw out any hope for the average citizen of the State? Take the problems that have been confronting you in the past and you will see every one of them continuing with all their thornies aspects, as before. For over 30 or 40 years now, you have been at the flood relief scheme in Trichur and Mukundapuram Taluks. After the expenditure of lakhs on investigation and on schemes, you are still where you were. Some say the position has been made worse. Take the Kole problem. It is a probem half-a-century old. Several committees and several experts have brooded over it. Yet the problem grows more and more acute every day. For the last eight years you have been holding our promises of a graduated reduction in the consumption of alcoholic drinks. Have you done so? Your figures do not support you. You are extracting from the people a larger amount now, on that account. Nearly 16 years ago, a good Diwan envisaged compulsory elementary education as a proximate ideal for

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the whole State. Yet to-day we are no nearer to it. Every year we hear of the ravages of small-pox and other epidemics. Epidemics have latterly become endemics. The Government have always told us that they are ever ready and out to fight the plagues. Yet wailings were heard this year from the outlying tracts of the Mukundapuram Taluk that months of waiting did not fetch them the services of a vaccinator, in spite of the creation of a new Department to attend to such services in the mofussil. Thanks to Travancore, many a Cochin man was saved from the attack of the dreaded pox by the humanitarian services rendered to Cochinites by vaccinators paid by that State. I shall not dilate: Your administration has failed. You have failed to act up to the promises that you have ever been holding out to the people.

We demand therefore that we may be tried. You have created this Council and given us freedom to talk till our tongues fail. Simple folk that we were, we believed that our talk would improve you. We advised you, we criticised you, we protested against your mis-deeds. With the philosophy of the coldest statue, you have listened to us and yet carried on the affairs of the State as you liked. In the name of the people we demand of you more power for the Council, power to check the executive and to control the expenditure. We demand that the Council may be based on a broader franchise and that the administration of the State may be entrusted to the representatives of the people to be carried on through the permanent officers of the State. We may fail perhaps, at the start. But if we fail, we fail for the people and from our failure will sprout plants of success. Representatives of the people chosen under a truly democratic constitution will always have the support of the people and can boldly administer law, caring neither for favour nor for frown.

One law, good or bad, for all expresses an excellent maxim of beneficent administration. The same law shall be applied to all citizens, from the prince to the peasant, irrespective of creed, caste and colour. It is indeed a slur on the administration if sometimes administration of law varies with the respective position of individuals. It is a rotten state of affairs if wealth, high status, office or non-official honours could deflect law from its even course. It is said, Sir, that in the name of a gentleman, well-known in the State, magnitudinous depredation was recently carried on in the Sirkar Forests and that his position and influence stand in the way of the Government proceeding against him. The other day I witnessed the conviction of a poor man at Irinjalakkuda for carrying from British parts a quarter of a bushel of salt worth less than an anna which he was compelled

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to procure as floods prevented him from getting Cochin salt. I commend to Government the maxim, one law for all. I commend to the attention of those members and their compeers, interested in delving into antiquated cases of archaic sedition, this branch of malfeasance committed in our forests. I shall add a foot-note that it is a thousand times more honourable to be charged for honest expression of opinions on the doings of the Government than to steal Sirkar timber.

I am certain that the chosen representatives of the people would be sufficiently conscious of their responsibilities, not to lend themselves to bottomly operations and shall always be in the front in the demand for the application of one law for all.

Mr. P.C. Varkey.—Sir, before going into a consideration of the main aspects presented by the surplus Budget placed before the House, let me congratulate the Government for what must be considered a unique achievement. If we search throughout the world we shall be confronted with an almost unbroken series of deficit budgets presented by practically every nation on earth. The achievements of Cochin at a time of world-wide financial depression and distress speak volumes for the sagacity and prudence of her administrators and for the flexibility of her resources, in spite of the fact that territorially she is but a tiny State. Nor can I entirely agree with the critics on the floor of the House who are inclined to denounce surplus budgets. A surplus budget need not be a curse, but may on the otherwise be a positive blessing for a State like ours. We are faced with several pressing demands for financing the important reproductive works that are now in hand. In the absence of an assured financial position it would be almost impossible to raise the credits necessary for such works without making sacrifices commensurate with the requirements of the situation. The great confidence of investors all over India was dramatically demonstrated yesterday when the Debenture Loan floated by the State was subscribed 4 times over within 10 minutes of the opening of the loan. Cochin has, however, reason to be proud of such an achievement and no amount of criticism can deprive her of the credit due to her on this account.

There is, however another, aspect of the matter. Moneys collected from the public, it must be remembered, belong to the public and has always to be utilised for the service of the public. Public wants like Sanitation, Elementary Educatibn, Public Works, Irrigation Communications, Flood Protection and Agriculture have all to be provided for before surpluses are accumulated from current revenues. Nor should it be forgotten that it is altogether unfair and unjust to penalise the present generation

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for the supposed prosperity of a future one. The budget estimates prepared for the year 1108 abundantly show that at the time of their preparation the Government were anticipating the dangers of a deficit budget made probably by the world-wide economic and financial depression. I have nothing whatsoever to say with regard to the conservative nature of the estimates made in those circumstances. What I have to say is on the other hand, about what the Government propose to do when it is found that anticipated revenues of the budget have been exceeded by a very large figure in practice. The cramping of the services and public utilities on account of an anticipated stringency in financial conditions was probably justified by the conditions that faced the Government when the estimates were framed. But the question is whether there is the least justification for allowing the extraordinary surpluses that have accumulated to go into the coffers of the State and remain there as an unproductive hoard. Is it not only fair that moneys that should have been budgetted for public purposes last year and were not so budgetted because of anticipated financial stringency should be properly spent and for legitimate purposes when such moneys have come into the Government's hands? Would it be an excuse for hoarding such amounts, rather than spend them properly, to say that the system of account-keeping or other form of red-tape stands in the way of proper utilisation of such funds? Can it be said that it is beyond the power of the Government to devise methods to utilise a substantially ear-marked portion of the extraordinary surplus that has materialised for works of public utility which admittedly are of urgent demand? This method of quietly allowing all surpluses to go into the coffers of the State and forget all about them the moment when the last day of the year has passed, is to say the least a miser's method. In the year on hand particularly, there are at least, 2 more important things which the Government could do. For one thing, the salary cut imposed upon the officers, at least on the lower grades of them, could with great fairness be restored. I would earnestly appeal to the Government that the cut money collected from all public servants drawing a pay of say, about Rs. 100 and below may be promptly returned to them. For another, the 12½ per cent revenue remission resolved by this House and refused by the Government on the score of want of funds may be granted this year. No doubt, such a remission may not be altogether adequate to ameliorate the condition of the suffering ryots, but it may go some way in helping them. Those acts of fairness and justice cannot in view of this extraordinary budget surplus be delayed for a moment. No arguments or red-tape should be invoked for refusing sheer justice.

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Yet another matter which I should like to impress upon the House is the wrong policy of disbursing savings from current revenues for capital reproductive works. It is seen from the Finance Member's statement that very large amounts have so far been expended on the Harbour and the Railway from out of the accumulated resources of the State. It has often been stated by the Government in reply to the criticisms of the non-official members of this House that the accumulated surplus was intended to hold us out of a rainy day. I wonder if the Government fancies that the apprehended rainy day is on us now. If the Government confuses the legitimate demands made by the reproductive works undertaken by them for the rainy day aniticipated, I can only say that they are making a grievous mistake. If we search the history of the modern world, we always find that reproductive works are in every case financed by year-marked loans. There is no justification for undertaking a reproductive work as such, unless there is cent per cent chance of such works paying their way. Reproductive works have to be strictly distinguished from works of general public utility, which are not of a reproductive kind. If you want to have the luxury of a first class Harbour or a Broad-gauge Railway, both money-making propositions, you must find the money not out of the public funds deposited in the Government coffers and awaiting the on-coming of the rainy day. They should on the other hand be financed by funds secured on the credit of such works and such funds should be disbursed from profits earned from them. Very large amounts have been so far spent on our capital reproductive works and possibly, it may be crying in the dark to complain about them any more. What I want to impress upon the House, however, is that at least in future such an undesirable policy should no longer be pursued. It is gratifying to note that the Government have at long last raised the ban for financing capital works.

Another criticism which I have to make with regard to the budget is that the nation-building activities of the State have been substantially cramped in the ensuing year's budget. The provision made therein for such items as Irrigation, Agriculture, Sanitation, Medicine, Public Works and Education, though not altogether inadequate as compared with previous years' figures, are, it must be admitted by all, far from adequate when the available resources, including the current year's surplus, are taken into calculation. If the current year had to be starved on account of an anticipated financial stringency it is all the more reasonable that when the anticipated stringency has turned out to be a large surplus, the provisions made for the ensuing year on these important heads should have been made far more generous. As

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I remarked above, this vicious system of budget making, whereby the revenues of particular years are considered to lie in watertight and unbreakable compartments, should be done away with before satisfactory budgets can be produced.

Another aspect of the Government policy which I wish to refer to in this connection is the unfortunate existence of communal rancour in the State. The fact that there are several important and distinct communities in the State cannot be safely ignored. The best way of creating disharmony and trouble would be to ignore the existence of communal divisions in the State. The cry of communal discrimination has been going on in this State of ours for several decades past and yet it is very doubtful whether the authorities have realised that the only method of removing communal rancour is to resort to rigid communal fair play. It is a well-known fact that so long as legitimate reasons for complaint exist, complaints will be made and will have to be heard. It is no doubt very regretful that the various communities have been obliged to cry for their shares, whether in public service or elsewhere. It is all the more regrettable that a Government that should realise that such cries will continue until and unless the reasons for the cries have been removed, have not yet taken any vigorous steps for removing them. When it was announced a few months ago that the Cochin Government intended to introduce a Public Services Commission with a view to restore the equilibrium in the services between the various communities, the general public rejoiced and anticipated the introduction of a reign of peace, contentment and mutual esteem and love. I understand that the scheme has been on the anvil for several months now and that something or other is holding it up. I can only say that it would be a great dis-service to the State and its peoples to scotch a scheme just bound to remove communal rancour and hatred, between the various communities of the State. There is no use shutting one's eyes to facts so long as evils, inequalities, and discriminations exist. The public are bound to agitate for their removal and unless the people at the helm of our State wish for the introduction into it of conditions that obtain to-day in some other Indian States, they would do well to expedite the introduction of a measure which at least to a very great extent is likely to ameliorate the existing condition.

A word may be said here in connection with the proposed changes in the Educational policy of the State. The amateurish educational survey report produced by our Director of Public Instruction has created a furore in the educational circles of the State. The main theme of the report is that elementary education should become more and more the direct care of the

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Government and be detached from the hands of private agents, who admittedly to-day are mainly responsible for it. It has to be observed that the wise proposals of Diwan Mr. A. R. Banerjee (Now Sir) which were acted upon by the Cochin Government and which have produced such glorious results, have been altogether forgotten by our wise and young Director of Public Instruction. If the learned Director had eyes to see, he would have readily realised that the position of Cochin in the van of educational achievements is to no small extent due to the enterprise of the managers of private schools. I do not see the reason for the vendetta waged by the Director of Public Instruction against private schools. It is freely stated and with great resentment that this vendetta is not entirely dissociated from some special prejudice. It is noteworthy that the vast majority of the 400 and odd private schools happens to be in the hands of Christian managers. What these poor managers have done to deserve the wrath of the Director is not known. What is very well known however is that the Director is down upon them. The Director's proposals would, if they are to achieve anything like the success which has resulted from the private management of schools, admittedly involve an additional expenditure of about 5 lakhs of rupees. Where the Director is going to find funds for meeting this heavy additional expenditure is however not explained in his learned report. If he had only looked round a little more dispassionately and perhaps with less prejudice towards the managers of schools, he would have realised that his proposals were impracticable and ill-conceived. A committee has been constituted by the Government to examine the proposals contained in the report. It is noteworthy however that the reference made to the committee makes it clear beyond doubt that the Government in extending the courtesy of a committee to the Director did not intend anything very seriously except to let him and his report down with some grace. May good sense prevail!

President.—Your time is up.

Mr. Paul Mampilli.—I shall content myself with discussing some of the homely problems instead of soaring into the higher politics.

I have great pleasure in giving expression to the gratitude the agricultural population of the State feel for the benefit, however small it might be, the Government are conferring upon them at this time of dire depression, by giving a remission of a portion of the tax on land for the next year. It is good that the Government should have at least now heeded to the request of the people and their representatives in this Council and given

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the much needed relief to that class of persons who are the hardest hit by the economic depression. It is not an easy thing to forego a lakh and fifteen thousand rupees of income at a time when money is urgently needed for various demands. I should congratulate the Government for the bold and benovelent step they have taken in this matter.

One objection which the Government had against allowing a remission of tax was that the remission would not benefit the persons for whom it is really intended. It is but true that many of the pattadars of the State are big Jenmies who have leased their lands to the tenants, reserving a yearly rent which includes the ordinary tax due on the land. By simply giving a remission of the tax, the persons who in such cases will be benefitted are the Jenmies, while the persons who are really paying the tax and who therefore ought to be benefitted by this remission are the tenants who actually cultivate the land. Under these circumstances it is incumbent upon the Government to see that this remission of tax really reaches the person who actually cultivates the land and pays the tax out of the produce. It will not be difficult to provide for such a result by appropriate Proclamation or Regulation.

I should not be understood to mean that by getting this small remission of tax the distress of the people would be entirely removed. But I am one who believes in the proposition that something is better than nothing. After having gained one advantage we should press for more. It is true that the budget does not contain any definite proposals for the improvement of the economic conditions of the people. The proposed Economic Survey might be held up as a shield for saying that the Government are collecting facts and figures and when these are available they would make their proposals. It is admitted that there is dire distress everywhere. Distress will not wait for the economic survey. The Government should have some suggestions and plans for helping the people to tide over this critical period. It will not be wise statesmanship to throw up your arms in despair and helplessness and say that the economic depression is of a world-wide character, and therefore you cannot do anything. The prices of the produce of the land are going down every day. By the importation of Colombo copra the situation becomes still worse. With all the resources of the Government at their back they ought to be able to find out some remedies for these ills. Imposition of a duty on the importation of the Colombo copra, finding out of new markets for our produce, liberal advances of agricultural loans to the ryots, starting of a Land Mortgage Bank,

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introduction of a Labour Insurance system among the working classes, finding employment in the Railways and the Harbour for some of our educated young men, the giving of the Railway and Harbour contracts as far as possible to the local men, might be suggested as some of the ways along which Government might explore and find out some remedial measures.

Some of the Hon'ble Members of this House have been deploring the existence of communalism in the State and have been advocating for killing communalism. Who has cared to enquire into the reason for the existence of this so-called communalism? The people of the State are composed of various communities Some of these communities have been enjoying till now the patronage of the Government for one reason or other and they practically monopolised the Government services. So when communities which are not represented at all or not adequately represented in the services ask for a share of the patronage, the favoured communities call it communalism. Is it communalism to ask for your legitimate rights? Well, if it be communalism what is the method to kill it? Give the unrepresented communities their due share and there will be no more communalism. As long as this indivious distinction is maintained, as long as this unequal representation in services exists, so long communalism is bound to exist, the moment there is equal representation of all communities in the services, that moment you will hear the death knell of communalism. We should work for this happy consummation. One means and I believe the best means to attain this end is the appointment of a Public Service Commission. We have been hearing about the impending appointment of this commission for the last many months. I wonder why the appointment is being so long delayed. There will be many appointments to be made in connection with the Incometax establishment. I would say that these appointments should be made by the Public Service Commission.

Referring to General Administration I may say that I endorse the view expressed by the Hon'ble Member for Vadakkancheri with regard to the changing of the designation of the Secretary to the Diwan as the Secretary to the Government. This officer may be said to be the head of the Huzur Department and he has to deal with all the heads of departments and acquaint himself with all the questions of all the departments. He is further representing the Government in this House. To call such an officer with the unimposing title of the Secretary to the Diwan is not in keeping with the dignity of his office. And I believe there can be no harm in changing the designation.

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Then I would like to draw the attention of Government that when they make a service rule they ought to apply it uniformly in all cases, without making any distinction in individual cases. Before the Government make or change any rule they should consider its effect in all its aspects and whether it will be conducive to the efficiency and contentment of the service. The Government ought to know and decide what is best for their services. But after the Government have laid down particular rules for the guidance of their service it is a very bad thing and subversive of all good Government to ignore the rules in individual cases and act arbitrarily. Excuses can be made for any action however unjustifiable it may be. But I may assure the Government that such deviations of the rule go only to create discontent and dissaftisfaction in service. When under the existing rules a person is entitled to a promotion or confirmation, to say that it will not be given to him on some excuse or other and give it to another in service, not on the ground of efficiency or fitness, then I say no great or demoralising force can be brought into play in the service. Therefore it is incumbent upon all good Government that their service rules should be strictly and uniformly adhered to in all cases.

One other important point which I should desire to press upon the attention of Government is that the disqualification on account of caste, creed and colour should be taken away in the matter of admission to the Military of the State. I fail to see any justification whatever in keeping the military the exclusive preserve of a particular community in the State. If our military is merely intended for a mere show, to stand as guards in front of palaces and treasuries, etc., to be in charge of the cannons and fire salutes on ceremonial occasions what is the harm that can happen if members of the other communities are also admitted? If the military is intended to fight I do not find any reason why the other communities should not be asked to defend their country and shed their blood in their country's cause. As regards the capacity to fight, it is well known that the other communities are equally, if not more, competent in this line. This is an anomaly existing only in our State. I am sure that if there was really an apprehension of a fight with a foreign enemy this anomaly would long ago have ceased to exist.

Some suggestions have been put forward in this Council that the Panchayat Department may be abolished and the supervision of Panchayats given to the Public Health Department or the Public Works Department. Once it was clubbed with the Agricultural Department and then it was the universal complaint that the affairs of the Panchayats were entirely neglected. It

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was owing to the persistent representations in this House and outside that the Government thought fit to constitute a separate department to look after the Panchayats. The reason for the constitution of the separate department have not ceased to exist. There are about 36 Panchayats in the State and a full-time officer of the present grade will be essential to deal with the affairs of the Panchayats alone. Under the able supervision and direction of this department the Panchayats are now doing good work in the villages. What is lacking is only further allotment of funds for the various useful works which are necessary in the villages. Under these circumstances it will not be wise to disturb the present arrangement.

Mr. S.S. Koder.—Sir, I wish to say a few words regarding Mattancheri. I find from the provisions made that nothing is provided for the hospital there. You are aware, Sir, that for the last three years we were pressing for a hospital and you have been promising every year that you would provide some money. I do not know whether you have provided anything for that. I heard that the Government have an idea to open a dispensary instead of a hospital. Is that correct, Sir?

President.—They will reply to it in the afternoon.

Mr. S.S. Koder.—Well, if there is such an idea I request the Government to demolish it. We do not want a dispensary. I say that the hospital is a necessity. To bring our patients from Mattancheri to Ernakulam at night will be more or less impossible. We cannot get boats. I only want to know if it is possible to provide for the hospital this year.

President.—The Government Members will note it and will reply in the afternoon.

Mr. K. Mohamed Seethi.—On a point of information. Will the non-official members be allowed to speak in the afternoon?

President.—No.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. മുഹമ്മദ് സീതി.—സർ, ബഡ്ജറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് മറ്റു മാന്യന്മാരായ പല സാമാജികന്മാരും വളരെ സൂക്ഷ്മമായി നിരൂപണംചെയ്തു കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടും, എനിയ്ക്കു സംസാരിയ്ക്കുവാനുള്ള സമയം വളരെ കുറച്ചു മാത്രമുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടും, ഞാൻ വീണ്ടും അതിനെപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള ഒരു വിമർശനത്തിനൊരുങ്ങുന്നില്ല.

വരുന്നകാല്പത്തേയ്ക്കുള്ള ബഡ്ജറിൽ വളരെ അധികം സംഖ്യ ബാക്കിവയ്ക്കുവാൻ നമുക്കു സാധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിലും, പൊതുജനോപകാരപ്രദങ്ങളായ ചില കാര്യങ്ങൾക്കുവേണ്ടി ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറുകളിൽ കാര്യമായ സംഖ്യ കരുതുവാൻ നമുക്കു സാധിയ്ക്കാ

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ത്തതുകൊണ്ട് ഇന്നായും സാമാന്യജനങ്ങൾ വളരെ കഷ്ടപ്പാടനുഭവിയ്ക്കേണ്ടതായിട്ടാണിരിക്കുന്നത്. രാജ്യം സുഭിക്ഷമായിരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നു വിചാരിച്ച് രാജ്യവാസികൾ സുഭിക്ഷമായി കഴിയുന്നുവെന്നു വിചാരിയ്ക്കുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. ജനങ്ങളുടെ കഷ്ടപ്പാട് നാൾക്കുനാൾ വർദ്ധിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാണിരിയ്ക്കുന്നത്. പ്രത്യേകിച്ചും നികുതി കൊടുക്കുന്നവരുടെ കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകളെ ഗവണ്മെൻറിൽനിന്നും പരിഹരിച്ചു കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. അനവധി ആളുകൾ കടംകൊണ്ടു വലയുന്നുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഈമാതിരിയുള്ള കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകളും വിഷമതകളും ഇല്ലാതാക്കുവാനുള്ള ഒരു നിയമം ഈ രാജ്യത്ത് നടപ്പിൽവരുത്തേണ്ടതു് അത്യാവശ്യമാണ്. കൂടാതെ ഇവിടെ പലിശയെ നിയന്ത്രിയ്ക്കുവാനുള്ള യാതൊരു നിയമവും ഇല്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ട് പലിശയെ ക്രമപ്പെടുത്തുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാതെയാണിരിയ്ക്കുന്നത്. ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൽ കോടതികളിൽനിന്നും പലിശ നിയന്ത്രിച്ചുകൊള്ളണമെന്നു് ഒരു നിയമം നടപ്പിലാക്കീട്ടുണ്ട്. അതു് ഇവിടെ ഇല്ല. ഇതുപോലെ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു ഗുണം കിട്ടത്തക്കവണ്ണമുള്ള മറ്റു പല നിയമങ്ങളും ഇന്നു ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൽ നടപ്പിലാക്കീട്ടുണ്ട്.

ഐക്യസംസ്ഥാനത്തു് കൃഷിവലന്മാരുടെ കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകൾക്കു നിവാരണമുണ്ടാക്കുവാൻവേണ്ടി ഒന്നരണ്ടു പള്ളിക്കൂടങ്ങൾ നടപ്പിൽവരുത്തുവാൻപോകുന്നതായി അറിയുന്നുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ ഈ രാജ്യത്തു് നികുതിയിലെങ്കിലും ഇളവുചെയ്യുവാൻ ദയവുണ്ടായതിൽ ഞാൻ ഗവണ്മെൻറിനെ ഹൃദയപൂർവ്വം അനുമോദിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

മുസ്ലീമുങ്ങളുടെ അവശതകളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ, രണ്ടു വിധത്തിലാണ് അവർക്ക് അവശതകൾ ഉണ്ടായിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതു്. അവരുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസസംബന്ധമായുള്ള അവശതകളെ ഗവണ്മെൻറ് വിസ്മരിച്ചുകളഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ അടുത്തകാലത്തുതന്നെ നടന്നിട്ടുള്ളതായ ഒരു സംഭവത്തെപ്പറ്റി പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ, അറബിഭാഷയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പറയുമ്പോൾ അതു് ഒരു നിജ്ജീവഭാഷയാണെന്നുള്ള അവജ്ഞയെ വെളിപ്പെടുത്തത്തക്കവണ്ണം അതു് ഒരു dead language ആണെന്നു് ഒരു ഗവണ്മേൻറുദ്യോഗസ്ഥൻ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതായി എനിക്കറിയാം. ഇപ്പോൾ ഇറാക്ക്, ഈജിപ്റ്റുമുതലായ രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ ജീവനായിട്ടുള്ളതും, സ്പെൻസർ, ബയറൺ, ഷേക്സ്പീയർ മുതലായ അനേകം സാഹിത്യകാരന്മാരുടെ പുസ്തകങ്ങളെ തർജ്ജിമചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതും, പലേ രാജ്യങ്ങളിലേയും ജനങ്ങളുടെ സംസാരഭാഷയായി സ്വീകരിച്ചു് അഭിമാനിച്ചുപോരുന്നതും, ഏറ്റവും വിപുലവും ഗഹനങ്ങളുമായ സാഹിത്യമാധുര്യങ്ങളടങ്ങിയിട്ടുള്ളതും അയ്യൊന്നാണ് അറബിഭാഷ. അത്രമാത്രം പ്രചാരമുള്ള ഒരു ഭാഷ

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യെ ഇവിടത്തെ തെക്കൻഡിവിഷൻ സ്കൂൾ ഇൻസ്പെക്ടർ ഒരു dead language ആണ് എന്നു ജല്പിച്ചതിൽനിന്നുതന്നെ ഞാൻ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ വിവരക്കുറവിനേയും അജ്ഞതയേയുംകുറിച്ച് അത്യന്തം വിലപിക്കുന്നു.

ഒരു മുസ്ലിംസ്കൂൾ ഇൻസ്പെക്ടരെ നിയമിക്കണമെന്നാവശ്യപ്പെട്ടുകൊണ്ട് ഞാൻതന്നെ ഈ കൌൺസിലിൽ ഒരു പ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവരികയുണ്ടായി. എന്നാൽ ആ വിഷയത്തിൽ ഗവൺമെൻറ് ഇതേവരെ യാതൊന്നും ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതായിക്കാണുന്നില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ട് ആകാംക്ഷത്തിൽ ഗവൺമെൻറിന്റെ മനോഭിഷ്ടത്തിനെ ഞാൻ ക്ഷണിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

മുസ്ലിംവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അതിലും അനുകൂലം വിസ്മൃതികൂടാതെ ഗവൺമെൻറിൽനിന്നു കാണിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. സ്കൂൾ സമയത്തുതന്നെ അറബി വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം മുസ്ലീംകുട്ടികൾക്കു നൽകുന്നതിനായി ചില സ്കൂളുകളിൽ നടപ്പാക്കിയിരുന്നു. അതു് ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസാധികൃതന്റെ അനുകമ്പാരഹിതമായ പ്രവർത്തനങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടു് ഇല്ലാതെയായി. അവയെല്ലാം ഒന്നൊന്നായി നശിച്ചുപോകുന്നതായിട്ടാണു കേൾക്കുന്നതു്. കാളേജുപ്രവേശനസംഗതിയിൽപോലും മുസ്ലീം വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു പ്രവേശനം കിട്ടാതെ അനവധി മുസ്ലീം വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾ പാപ്പു് അവസാനിപ്പിച്ചു പോകുന്നതായ സംഗതിയേക്കുറിച്ചാണു് എനിക്കു് അവസാനമായി പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്. നാലോ അഞ്ചോ ബി. എ. പാസ്സായിട്ടുള്ള ആളുകൾ ഈ അടുത്തകാലത്തുതന്നെ എന്തെങ്കിലും ഉദ്യോഗം കിട്ടണമെന്നു് അപേക്ഷിച്ചിട്ടും ഫലമൊന്നുമില്ലാതെ ഇപ്പോൾ അലഞ്ഞുനടക്കുന്നതായി എനിക്കറിയാം. പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കുറഞ്ഞ സമുദായങ്ങളുടെ ഇടയിൽ വേണ്ടവിധം പ്രാതിനിധ്യം ഉണ്ടാക്കി കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതു് ഗവൺമെൻറിന്റെ ചുമതലയാണു്. അതും ഗവൺമെൻറു ചെയ്യുകാണുന്നില്ല. മുസ്ലീമുങ്ങളുടെ പ്രതിനിധിയായി ഈ പബ്ലിക്ക് സർവ്വീസുകമ്മീഷനിൽ ഇതുവരേയും ഒരു മെമ്പറേയും നിയമിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. എങ്കിലും ഇനിയും നിയമിക്കുവാനുള്ള കാലം വൈകിയിട്ടില്ല. അവകപ്പിലും മുസ്ലീമുങ്ങളുടെ പ്രതിനിധികളെ എടുക്കുന്നതിനു വിരോധമില്ലെന്നാണു് എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നതു്.

ഹാർബറിനെസംബന്ധിച്ചു പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അതുസംബന്ധമായി ഈ രാജ്യത്തിനുള്ള അധികാരങ്ങളെ ഒരിക്കലും വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കാൻ പാടില്ലെന്നുള്ള കാര്യത്തിൽ ഗവൺമെൻറു് വേണ്ടവിധം ശ്രദ്ധവയ്ക്കണമെന്നു് ഞാൻ അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. ഹാർബർ അധികാരങ്ങൾ വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കരുതെന്നു് പ്രമേയങ്ങൾ പാസ്സാക്കിയും യോഗങ്ങൾ കൂടിയും ഗവൺമെൻറിനെ അറിയിക്കേണ്ടതു് ജന

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പ്രതിനിധികളുടെ മുഖ്യ കടമയാണെന്നു് ഞാൻ അവരേയും ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ ഓർമ്മപ്പെടുത്തിക്കൊള്ളുന്നു.

ഇറിഗേഷൻ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടിനെപ്പറ്റി പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ കൃഷിയെസംബന്ധിച്ചു നല്ല വിവരമുള്ളവർക്കുകൂടിയും അലസതയെന്നുള്ള പ്രധാനമായ ദോഷം കാണുന്നുണ്ടു്. അവരെക്കൊണ്ടു്, ശരിയായ ഒരു കാര്യപരിപാടി നിശ്ചയിച്ചു് പൊതുയോഗങ്ങൾ വിളിച്ചുകൂട്ടി ഉപദേശങ്ങൾ കൊടുക്കുകയും കൃഷിസമ്പ്രദായങ്ങൾ മനസ്സിലാക്കി കൃഷി ചെയ്യുവാനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ കൃഷിക്കാർക്കു കാണിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നതിനാണു് ആ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറു വച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. അതൊന്നും ചെയ്യാതെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ഭാവവുംനടിച്ചു് ആപ്പീസുമുറികളിലിരുന്നു സമയംകളയുന്നതിൽ യാതൊരർത്ഥവുമില്ല. ഇറിഗേഷൻ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിലുള്ള പദ്ധതികളുടെ ദോഷമല്ലാ, ആ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിലുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ അലസതയുടെ ദോഷമാണു് ആ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെൻറിനെ ഉപദ്രവിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതു്. ഈ കാര്യത്തിലും ഗവർമ്മെൻറു് ശ്രദ്ധവയ്ക്കുണമെന്നപേക്ഷയുണ്ടു്.

ക്രാങ്ങ്ഗന്തരത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ഒരു കാര്യം പറയുവാനുണ്ടു്. അവിടെയുള്ള പെൺപള്ളിക്കൂടം എടുത്തുകളയുവാൻ ഗവർമ്മെൻറു നിശ്ചയിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതായി അറിയുന്നു. അപ്രകാരം എടുത്തുകളയുന്നതു വളരെ കഷ്ടമാണു്. പ്രായപൂർത്തിവന്നിട്ടുള്ള ആൺകുട്ടികളേയും പെൺകുട്ടികളേയും ഒന്നിച്ചുവച്ചു പഠിപ്പിക്കുകയെന്നുള്ളതു് പരിഷ്കൃതരീതിയിൽ ആശാസ്യമായിട്ടുള്ളതാണെന്നു തോന്നുമെങ്കിലും കാലക്രമത്തിൽ അനാശാസ്യമായി പരിണമിക്കുമെന്നും അവസാനം വിലപിക്കേണ്ടിവരുമെന്നും ഗവർമ്മെൻറു നല്ലപോലെ ഓർക്കണം. പെൺകുട്ടികളും ആൺകുട്ടികളും ഒന്നിച്ചിരുന്നു പഠിക്കുന്നതിൽ വരാവുന്ന അനാശാസ്യതയെപ്പറ്റി അന്വേഷിക്കുവാൻ ഗവർമ്മെൻറിൽനിന്നും ഇപ്പോൾ ഒരു കമ്മിറ്റി രൂപവൽക്കരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ആ കമ്മിറ്റിയുടെ തീരുമാനം വരുന്നതുവരെയെങ്കിലും ഈ സ്കൂൾ എടുത്തുകളയരുതെന്നാണു് എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്. മുസ്ലീമിങ്ങളുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവിഷയത്തിൽ വേണ്ട സൌകര്യങ്ങൾ ഗവർമ്മെൻറിൽനിന്നും ചെയ്തുകൊടുത്തു് അതിലേയ്ക്കു് ഒരു ഇൻസ്പെക്ടരെ നിയമിക്കണമെന്നും, പബ്ലിക്ക് സർവ്വീസുകമ്മീഷനിൽ മുസ്ലീമിങ്ങൾക്കും പ്രാതിനിധ്യം നൽകണമെന്നും മറ്റുമുള്ള സംഗതികളെ ഞാൻ ഒന്നുകൂടി ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ ഗവർമ്മെൻറിനെ ഓർമ്മപ്പെടുത്തിക്കൊള്ളുന്നു.

The House rose for lunch at 2 p. m. and met again at 3 p. m. with the President in the Chair.

Mr. U. Kandar Menon.—Sir, it has fallen to my lot in the current year to lead the discussion on the official side of the

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House. Before I begin, let me thank the Hon'ble Members for their valuable criticisms which have always been of considerable help to the Government in the successful carrying out of the administration of the State. The thoroughness with which the several questions that came up for discussion in the Council dealt with, enabled the Government to consider them in all their aspects before deciding the course of action to be taken in such cases. It appears to me that the Hon'ble Members were depreciating their own influence and powers when they said that the recommendations made by this House did not carry any weight with the Government. The views of the non-official Members of this House have influenced the Governmental policy in a wholesome manner. The recommendations of the Council always received earnest and anxious consideration at the hands of the Government. More than 50 per cent of the resolutions passed by this House in the course of the last three years have been already accepted and acted upon by the Government. The separation of the Medical and Sanitary Departments, the establishment of a Central Ayurvedic Hospital at Trichur, the conduct of an Educational Survey, the appointment of an officer to conduct an Economic and Industrial Survey of the State, are some of the important steps taken by the Government in pursuance of the resolutions passed by this House. I need hardly submit that they are of vital importance to the welfare and the well-being of the people. Some of the remaining resolutions are under the consideration of the Government. No doubt the Government were unable to accept a few of the resolutions passed by this House; but I beg to assure the Hon'ble Members that they did so after a careful consideration of the recommendations contained therein. The Diwan's Proceedings passing orders on these resolutions give the reasons why the Government were unable to accept them. I do not think it necessary for me to repeat the arguments contained therein, as these Proceedings are published in the Gazette.

The first and the most serious charge brought against the Government in the course of the discussion is that the Government have not done anything to help the people in these days of acute economic distress. I beg to state that our Government have done all that they could do in a matter like this. With a view to help the ryots who form the backbone of the country, agricultural loans are being issued at the very low rate of interest of 3 per cent repayable in easy instalments. In the course of the last 5 years the Government have granted a loan of about 2 lakhs of rupees. The Government appointed a committee to consider what relief could be given to people who find themselves

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unable to pay their subscription to the Kuries on account of the present economic depression. The recommendations of the committee were accepted by the Government and a Royal Proclamation was issued to give effect to these recommendations. The Government is now seriously considering the question of extending the period during which the Proclamation is to be in force. The Government have provided more than a lakh of rupees in the next year's budget for the remission of assessment. The House will thus be pleased to see that the Government are doing what little they could do to ease the situation. I respectfully ask the House what other Governments have done in regard to this matter. I request I may not be misunderstood in putting this question. I do not in the least mean to say that we need not do anything because other Governments have not done so. The present economic depression being the result of world-wide causes, it is not within the power of this Government to give any adequate relief. Great statesmen and administrators were not yet able to find a proper solution in the matter.

The Government is found fault with for not introducing a scheme on the lines of the Agricultural Debt Redemption Scheme in Bhavanagar State. I respectfully beg to submit that no necessity has been made out for the inauguration of any such scheme in our State. The economic conditions that obtained in the Bhavanagar State at the time of the introduction of the scheme were entirely different from those obtaining in our State. In the Bhavanagar State agricultural indebtedness in one way or another has been a grave stumbling block to real agricultural prosperity. "Monstrous rates of interest were levied in the villages which, it was alleged in some specific cases, enabled the leaders to obtain in one year only Civil decrees for amounts 4 to 6 times as large as the original sum advanced."

The present community was reduced to abject poverty by the unscrupulous and usurious methods of the *sowcars* or the money-lending class. On account of the deplorable condition of the ryots, land revenue to the extent of more than 27 lakhs were left in arrears. These alarming conditions, revealed as a result of the investigation by the committee appointed for the purpose, necessitated the inauguration of remedial measures in the Bhavanagar State to save the poor agriculturists from the clutches of the sowcars. The scheme involved considerable risk to the Government, but the pitiable condition of the agriculturists in the Bhavanagar State justified the inauguration of such a scheme. To quote the words of the President of the Committee, "the present attempt to effect a total and complete "redemption of the whole of the agriculturist class and thus

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"enable it to make a fresh start is unique and uncommon. No "doubt this will necessitate the advance of a very large sum and "some risk is also inevitable under the circumstances, but con- "sidering the lofty and benevolent aim which has motived this "attempt the risk involved is not excessive and is certainly worth "taking."

Such conditions do not exist in our State now. The economic conditions in the State are decidedly better when compared with those of several other Native States. The Government are closely watching the situation and doing their best to make the position of the agriculturists better, by advancing loans to cultivators whenever necessary, popularising improved methods of agriculture and improved agricultural implements and suggesting measures for improving the breed of good cattle, etc.

Though the Hon'ble Members in the course of the discussion in the Meenam session of the Council made some general statements regarding the usurious practice of the money lenders, they have not pointed out any specific instances prevalent in our State. In the Bhavanagar State the agriculturists petitioned the Revenue Commissioner pointing out the grave agrarian situation and the necessity for immediate relief. The matter was seriously enquired into by that officer and later when it was found that the facts stated in the petition were all true, the whole question was once again examined in detail by a committee and the necessary remedial measures proposed. Our Government have very recently undertaken a thorough economic survey of the State with a view to ascertain the real economic conditions of the State and its subjects and such measures as may be found necessary to improve their conditions as a result of the enquiry, will certainly, be taken. Some of the Hon'ble Members suggested the starting of a Land Mortgage Bank in the State. So far as we know Land Mortgage Banks started in Travancore and some other States are not working satisfactorily. Under these circumstances, before starting such a bank, it is absolutely necessary to know whether there is any real necessity for it. Private capital and co-operation are necessary to know whether there is any real necessity for the success of any such concern. The establishment of a bank alone without any sound policy of industrial activities would not help very much. As already observed by me an economic and industrial survey of the State has been undertaken with a view to investigate the indebtedness of the peasantry, its causes, the main industries in the villages, the subsidiary industries and facilities for establishing additional industries. It is only after the results of this survey are known that anything tangible can be done in the matter.

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Some of the Hon'ble Members apprehend that it will take a long time to complete this survey and by the time it is completed the condition of the peasantry will be beyond redemption. For the purpose of this survey, the State has been divided into four tracts and the idea of the Government. is to examine the conditions in a typical village in each tract, in order that an approximately accurate idea of the conditions prevalent in those places may be obtained as early as possible, so as to enable the Government to take speedy measures to redress the grievances of the agriculturists and industrialists, if any.

Another charge brought against the Government is that they are not taking any steps to improve the prices of articles. I fail to see what steps could be successfully taken by the Government in this matter. The chief articles for marketting in our State are paddy and copra. The fall in prices in these articles is entirely due to the large supply of these articles from outside. When the articles can be got from outside for a very cheap price, I do not understand how the prices can be improved. With regard to paddy, it is not even possible to prevent its importation into the State by the imposition of high traffic duty, as the paddy available in the State is not sufficient for local consumption. The imposition of a high traffic duty on copra, even assuming that it can be done, will not bring about the desired result.

The next important point raised in the course of the debate was that the Council should be invested with more powers, so that it may be able to control the administration better in the interest and well-being of the people. The House will be pleased to remember that His Highness our Gracious Maharaja has been pleased to confer upon the Council the right to elect its own Deputy President. Few Councils of other Native States have yet obtained this privilege. His Highness has also been pleased to extend the right of putting supplementary questions to every Member of the Council. This will enable the Council to elicit from the Government full and detailed information upon every point on which information is required with a view to currect any mistake which might have been committed by Government in regard to any such matters. His Highness has also appointed a committee to consider the question of broadening the franchise. The committee is about to complete its labours and the report will be submitted to the Government without much delay. The question of giving more powers to the Council will be considered after the receipt of the said report. From what is stated above, the House will be pleased to see that it is the intention of the Government to take the representatives of

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the people more and more into their confidence: Let us however proceed slowly and cautiously. After all the Council has been in existence only for a period of about 9 years. A period of nine years is not after all a long span in the life of a nation.

With regard to appointments, the Heads of Departments are always taking particular care to see that the unrepresented communities are given preference whenever a new vacancy arises. I may speak on my own behalf and on behalf of the other Heads of Departments that this has been invariably followed.

Then with regard to the appointment of a Public Service Commission the matter is seriously engaging the attention of the Government. Certain rules have to be framed and the delay is mainly due to the consideration of the rules to be framed in this matter. I have to make one more observation with regard to the remark made by some of the Hon'ble Members, that the Head of the Administration is always keeping the Democles' sword hanging above the heads of the departmental heads. There is not the slightest truth in this remark. The reports of the Heads of Departments and the recommendations made by them always receive due consideration at the hands of the Head of the Administration.

Then with regard to some of the points raised by the Hon'ble Member of Nemmara regarding the assignment of poramboke lands and the granting of agricultural loans, etc., they will receive very careful consideration at the hands of the department. In conclusion I beg to state that all the points raised by the Hon'ble Members in the course of discussion will receive due consideration at the hands of the Government.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Sir, on behalf of the Government I tender their grateful thanks for the very valuable criticisms that the Hon'ble Members on the other side have been pleased to offer. As usual, they have made several remarks against individual and general aspects of the administration; and the Government are only too glad to appreciate and thank them for that. We know that the spirit in which these remarks are offered is a spirit of genuine desire for co-operation, for the improvement and betterment of the State (*Hear, hear*), and we take it in exactly in that light. We on our part are also desirous of doing the same thing and whatever our little shortcomings may be, I dare say the House on the other side will look at it with sympathy and even a little indulgence. In a general discussion of this kind there is no use of shutting the eyes to the main questions that have been raised on the other

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side. So far as the Government could follow the important questions that were raised were, the question of the Harbour, the question concerning Railways, the question concerning reforms, and the question regarding want of a definite policy for the Government with regard to the development of their development departments.

With regard to the Harbour, I would refer the Hon'ble Members to the statement made before this House by the then Leader of the House in the last Budget Session. I have to admit that the position of the Darbar on this vital issue has not progressed very much since then. True, there have been two Conferences, one at Madras and another at Ooty recently, but I should say that at both these Conferences it was more or less the same questions that cropped up for consideration, and that on neither of these occasions a final discussion was reached on any of the outstanding points.

Mr. A. Sankara Poduval.—Sir, may I know why the Memorandum was not published? It was promised to be published.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—It is too early to publish the Memorandum presented before the Select Committee. It was only presented something like a fortnight ago. There has not been time even for one mail from London to reach India. I do not think there will be much difficulty to publish the Memorandum soon. The statement that the Diwan presented to the Indian States Committee when they visited this State was duly placed before the House and I do not think that there will be any serious objection to place the present memorandum also before this Council.

Mr. A. Sankara Poduval.—Sir, may I know what is the objection in publishing it? It has already been made public in England.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—We should at least have time to hear exactly what has happened there before it is made public. There will be no undue delay about it.

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—Sir, are we to take it that the present Government are not aware of its own Memorandum?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—We have got the Memorandum here. We have a rough outline here, but we should know exactly what has happened. At least we should have some definite information about all that happened there before an important document of this kind is published.

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Mr. A. Sankara Poduval.—Even to the Cochinites?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—I do not know how the Hon'ble Members can insist on it in view of the practical difficulties I explained above.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Then why should we not have a cabled copy of the Memorandum? So many big speeches are cabled now-a-days.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—But we should always have a sense of proportion. We should nave a few weeks to get detailed informationon all the points.

Now with regard to the Harbour I have nothing more to say than that the position of the Government has not changed very much since the announcement made by the Leader of the House during the last Budget Session. We had two Conferences. But nothing very much was decided at either of the Conference and thequestion remains exactly where it stood last year.

Mr. A. Sankara Poduval.—If I am not interrupting, can we not at least get a summary of it now? We can only discuss it during the Budget discussion and it is no use publishing it after this.

President.—It will be noted by the Government.

Mr. A. Sankara Poduval.—Sir, may we not have a summary of a brief outline at least of what has been placed before the Committee in England now?

President.—After the general discussion is over I shall make a speech and I shall try to throw some light on the points involved in the Memorandum.

Mr. A. Sankara Poduval.—Thank you, Sir.

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—Sir, taking up the subject where I left, I would next refer to the question of the Constitutional Reforms. The first thing in a matter like this, is to have a widened franchise. And for that purpose specifically a Franchise Committee has been appointed and their report is likely to be submitted to the Government within the next 3 or 4 weeks. That would be the first step in the series of constitutional reforms and knowingas the House does that an earnest attempt has been made in that direction by the Government I trust the House will take it that the Government are not in any way desirous of shelving the question.

As regards the general charge that no definite policy is maintained by the Government in the way of developing the development departments of the State, I do not know in the least how that charge could be laid. If the Government has no

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policy at all, how is it that it is maintaining the name of progressive Cochin? That title was not given to us for our asking.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Only too very fine words!

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—May be. But it was given by the public outside Cochin and that title we are maintaining. If you look into the budget of next year, *i. e.*, 1109 you will find that every attempt is made to maintain the envious position that we had gained till now. Nay we are even improving on it. You will find that in the development department like Medicine a larger allotment than even that of the revised estimate has been made. Similarly in the Panchayat also some more money has been allotted for the improvement of road communications and for the better maintenance of the Panchayat roads. Equally large amount has also been provided under the same Budget Head for wells, tanks, Ayurveda Vaidyasalas and all the other activities connected with that department. A separate Central Ayurvedic Hospital has been created with special deference to the wishes of this House and for the improvement of the Ayurvedic system of treatment; and that hospital, the Government are pleased to inform the House, is working splendidly well.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—What is the source of information?

Rama Varmha Tampuran.—The usual source from which the Government always get the information about their departments.

Coming again to the development departments, in the department of Public Works again you will find a large array of new roads and new bridges proposed in the new Budget. I would only refer to the statements made by the Finance Member at page 16 of his speech and you will find many new important roads are proposed to be opened next year. Thus, whatever other things might be said, I do not see in the least any justification for the charge of lack of any fixed policy in the development of their development departments. On the other hand what we are at present on is a policy of immense and intensive improvement of the various departmental activities. An Educational survey has been completed and a special Committee has been appointed to investigate its results thereby making it possible for a general revision, if necessary the whole of the educational system to meet the requirements of the rising generation as well as to assimilate the growing expenditure of the department to the requirements of the public finance of the State. The same thing with the development of roads. A Road Board has been constituted so that more of local knowledge there may be in the decision of the comparative urgency of the several road problems. The aim of the Government is that never a road

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or bridge be constructed here and there which has not got the popular support of the people there and of the neighbouring districts. Thus wherever possible a policy of intensely improving the administration in its various aspects has been taken up by the Government.

With regard to the minor points that have been raised about the departments I think the more proper time will be to refer to them when the particular grants are taken up for discussion. I once again acknowledge with thanks the very valuable suggestions and criticisms made by the Hon'ble Members yesterday and to-day.

Mr. V. K. Aravindaksha Menon.—Mr. President, Sir, I feel it my duty to congratulate the Finance Member for the very excellent Budget he has presented before the House. It is both statesmanlike and daring. In spite of the financial depression he has not only been able to give us allotments almost equal to those of the more prosperous years but he has also found money to finance such big schemes as the Harbour, Railways and Electricity.

The three stages of Harbour development have been completed and it has now become possible for ocean-going steamers to enter the Harbour and discharge at moorings at all times of the year. It is indeed pleasant to watch the many steamers riding at anchor in our backwaters and the busy workmen engaged in the trade of the Port. It is impossible to believe that all these activities will not reflect in a thousand ways to improve the condition of the people and traders of Cochin. Towns of Ernakulam and Cochin situated around what would be one of the most important and best of world ports will have to expand on the lines of modern sea-port towns.

Estimates for the final developments of the harbour are being prepared at the Harbour Engineer's Office. These will include the construction of Railway bridge to Venduruthi and the construction of deep water wharves along the reclamation.

Along with the Harbour development, railway communication facilities to the hinterland are also being improved. The conversion of the railway to broad-gauge permitting the transport of materials without break of bulk at Shoranur is nearing completion.

The Government is also negotiating with the Madras Government for the supply of electricity in bulk for distribution within the State. The present idea is that Pykara will be supplying us with power for a period of 15 years, in which time we may complete our Hydro-electric scheme and take over the supply from them. The draft agreement has been prepared but

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certain of its clauses regarding rates of supply, etc., require to be further discussed. If all goes well, the supply will be made before next August. With the introduction of cheap Hydro-electric power, industries will get encouragement and I shall be surprised if Cochin does not with its excellent port and power supply become also a highly industrial State.

So, you see, Sir, how the Government have been anxious to further the prosperity of the State and have therefore launched on bold schemes of far-reaching importance. They have done well, in my personal opinion, in not having frittered away their energies on what are popularly called, cottage industries. For it is almost an axiomatic truth that no industry without the aid of machinery can give to the worker a living wage. Cottage industries, of course, have their place, but it has a very unimportant place.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Is that the view of the Government?

Mr. V. K. Aravindaksha Menon.—It is my own personal view.

Large scale industries using cheap power and connected with a good harbour by arterial roads and water ways are the things which a progressive Government should foster. And Cochin is doing all these in a remarkable manner. Will not the Hon'ble Members therefore agree with me, Sir, in thinking that the statements made by them yesterday that the Government have shown a lack of policy or plan in their budget have been done without properly studying the question?

Mr. C. A. Ouseph.—Sir, without interruption, may I know whether the Trichur Mill-owners have refused to take electricity because they can get cheaper power from elsewhere.

Mr. V. K. Aravindaksha Menon.—I have looked into the question and found that the rates at which the Trichur Mill-owners can produce their own power are really very low and that is the main reason why I said that we are discussing the question of rates.

Well, I do not propose to make a long speech on this day devoted for general discussion but I feel I should state a few words in connection with some of the observations made by the Hon'ble Members on certain aspects of the P. W. D. budget. The most damaging criticism which I received yesterday was made by the Hon'ble Member for Irinjalakkuda. He said that the Karithala fields were submerged due to floods, even the Chief Judge had to inspect the place finding none at the spot, and that urgent communications were sent to the Diwan, who passed it on to the Chief Engineer who in turn passed it on

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to his assistant who virtually kept quiet over it. This criticism on the callousness of the P. W. D. Officers is a a serious charge. It has only one defect and that is, the facts are all distorted. The facts are these. At about 6 o'clock on the morning of the 9th or so of Edavam I received a communication from the Diwan enclosing a petition regarding the floods in the Karithala fields. In the petition it was stated that if the Hill Palace Road is cut open, relief could be obtained. By the next train which left Trichur I gave instructions to my Assistant Engineer to inspect the locality and to cut open the road if the afflux on either side of the bridge on the Hill Palace road is greater than 6 inches. For, if it is less than 6 inches there is absolutely no use in cutting open the road.

The Assistant Engineer sent word to me that he understood from the people the afflux to be more than 6 inches and considering the seriousness of the situation caused by cutting open an important road, wrote again for oders. I immediately proceeded to the spot and inspected the entire locality. I found that there was very little afflux at the bridge, possibly less than two inches and that no material benefit would have resulted from cutting open the road. If the road had been cut open, the lands would not have been benefitted but the traffic would have been put to very great inconvenience and the Government would have had to spend about Rs. 15,000 including the reconstruction of a bridge. Immediate arrangements were however made for the putting up of a sluice for helping the drainage. I had also made arrangements to take flood levels in the different connected parts to draw up a scheme for relief.

So it will be seen that I have been at the site of floods within 26 hours from the moment I received information and I did all that was possible to relieve the distress. I need not dilate on the amount of personal risk I ran in getting over to Ernakulam crossing roads submerged under three feet of water and streams in a highly flooded condition. Does this mean we are getting gratuities as so unhappily remarked by the Member?

The Hon'ble Member for Vadakkancheri has stated that Government have no plan for flood prevention. Has he forgotten our strenuous efforts at flood prevention works at Karuvannur? There have been, it is true, some destruction to crops this year in the Cochin-Kanayannur Taluk due to the extraordinary floods. We all have heard how the whole of Malabar, especially the southern districts of Travancore, have been affected. The destruction in Cochin has not been to such an extent. Anyway, this department is taking up the matter immediately and I have ordered a special survey of the locality and I can assure this

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House, I shall be able to submit a scheme within the next few months which will solve the problem once and for all.

In the matter of general irrigation we have been making great headway. We have prepared several productive irrigation schemes and they are in a position to be taken up whenever funds permit. In Nemmara provisions have been made for two of these works in the budget of 1109.

Mr. K. G. Nayar.—Without interruption, Sir, may I ask the Chief Engineer what is the amount provided for at Nemmara?

Mr. V. K. Aravindaksha Menon —Rupees 15,000.

Mr. K. G. Nayar.—Where is it said that the amount is for Nemmara?

Mr. V. K. Aravindaksha Menon.—It is provided in the Chittur Taluk for cheap diversion works.

Flood prevention works at Karuvannur have also been engaging the earnest attention of the Government at present and I hope we shall be able to continue the good work already done in this connection in the past.

One of the most noteworthy events of this year which occured in the P. W. D. is the opening of the Chengal Thodu Bridge by His Gracious Highness the Maharaja. This bridge connects the village of Chowara with the main net work of roads of the country. A long-felt grievance has by this been redressed. Another bridge which we have almost completed is the Korayar Bridge as a result of representation from the Member for Chittur. In the matter of shaping the policy regarding communications, I have been helped by a representative "Road Board" to whose work I wish to express my great appreciation.

In the mechanical department we have been making water supplies to several towns in a satisfactory manner. In the case of the Mattancheri town the supply could be adequate only when the projected pipe line is laid across the backwaters. But we are increasing our floating equipments of tugs and barges in order to make the supply more adequate.

I shall be dealing more fully with the several items of work when I present my Budget before you and the object of my present speech is only to answer some of the remarks made by the Members during the general discussion.

Mr. K. Narasimha Pai.—Mr. President, Sir, the House is well aware of the fact that I am here on account of a sudden necessity and that rather of an unfortunate kind. I must at the outset mention that I have neither got the knowledge of the Cochin Educational Department nor had I sufficient time even

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to go through the papers. I had to take charge on Saturday evening and since then I have been trying to collect as much material by way of real facts as possible so that it may be useful to me in my duties here. The next thing I have to mention is that the permanent Director of Public Instruction as you all know is a highly talented young gentleman and I do not lay any claims to that talent. Another fact I have to state is that I am practically a novice in parliamentary affairs and my experience till all along has been as a teacher. You will therefore kindly bear with me if I transgress the exact procedure of this House here and there a little. This I must say in the very beginning.

But I have also got something in my favour. It is not disadvantageous to me, even though I am in temporary charge of the Department. I have age in my favour. I have only about a year to retire. But this fact apart from other things puts me in possession of a few facts which I can also recall.

I remember some time ago in Cochin so far as Education is concerned, though nothing was declared definitely as the policy of the Government, the implied lines on which it was working are perfectly clear. Schools, more schools and yet more schools. This was the cry; whether they be for boys, for girls, or for depressed communities. As a result of that policy we have been able to achieve a certain amount of literacy. That certainly is more known by statistics.

The next is after the spread of the education among masses to make it as efficient as possible. Here also, I think that the Cochin Educational policy has been successful. Only one thing we have to bear in mind, that the educational ideals have slightly changed. While people were crying for schools and more schools, the ideal before the people was Government service—I am very careful about my words—all that it has now become is when the Government service has become fairly full and there is not as much demand of the educated now as there was before, people have it before them just to take away one word and make it simply "service" and if ever they think of making it service or real public service, I think our educated educated still have ample scope either in the rural reconstruction or in other works of that kind. Of course, we are not quite responsible for the change of ideals. All through the world these ideals change and we also change in so many other directions and I cannot at this stage say how from Government service we are asked to change to service. It is altogether a desirable state of affairs. This much about the pure or literary education.

Next, we are coming to vocational or industrial education. This is a subject that is bristled with far greater difficulties as

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I shall immediately present here, than we can easily understand and talk about. If I may just take one or two illustrations and place them before the House I suppose I will be pardoned for that. Pepper is one of the commodities that we are growing here and exporting very largely. Perhaps the price that we get for pepper may not be more than 2 to 4 annas a pound. This pepper goes to Europe, I mean to Morton's Factory. It has an essential oil or something which they call Piperine. It is extracted and doctors say that it is a good stuff for heart disease. It is sold for its own price by the manufacturer there. Then there is the punac of pepper. It has absolutely very little essential stuff in it and it ean be easily converted into dry powder and all that is necessary is to put this powder in bottles and sell it at about 12 annas for 3 ounce. This is what is called industry. This sort of industry each one has to study and work up for himself. I do not know whether it is the business of the Government to start that kind of industry, or to teach that kind of industries. Any teacher who can teach that kind of industry will rather start it himself than teach it. If I can ever teach a mantram which can satisfy your hunger, I will first apply it to myself. If I want food, my mantram is there. If it is effective I won't try to barter it for food.

The next thing that I want to mention is about cocoanut itself. True, the price of cocoanut at a certain stage, that is immediately before the war, was a fancy price, the price of oil going as much about Rs. 175 per candy. We have only to understand what the price was immediately before that. As I know, the price of cocoanut was Rs. 25 per thousand. That is pre-war price. We have again come to that normal condition. What was it that made the price of cocoanut go up all on a sudden? Glycerine is a stuff that is extracted from cocoanut oil. Large quantities were required by Germany and almost the whole lot of cocoanut oil was absorbed in Germany and consumed by Germany for this purpose. Now that warfare has been practically outlawed there is no demand for that stuff, and we have simply come to normal conditions and instead of adjusting ourselves to the pre-war conditions, we adjusted ourselves to the war conditions.

The next thing that we have to mention is, not exactly about cocoanuts but something like that industry—It is the indigo industry of Bengal. Bengal used to produce every year about 12 crores worth of indigo and that used to be exported. What the Bengalees used to do is to adulterate it with all kinds of stuff that they can use and then export it. That kind practice,

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is not uncommon here. We have got our lemon grass oil and we know how it is being adulterated. The result is that when it is sent to European countries, they test it and reject it. Germany instead of doing that with the indigo went one step further and thought that if the ignorant Hindu, as they called, can adulterate the indigo why not we synthesise indigo and the synthesis of indigo is a thing that is fraught with immense lessons so far as we are concerned. Professor Bayer was entrusted with that work and it was in two stages that he achieved it. First he had to synthesise it from chemicals for which he took 10 to 12 years and the expenditure was about 12 million dollars, that is about 3 million pounds. The next stage was to make it a commercial product which took only 16 years with a further expenditure of about 7 million pounds. When western countries are investing sums beyond perhaps my comprehension in the way of investigation and research so far as the industrial side is concerned, with our crude or primitive methods I myself can't say where we are. I refer particularly to the cocoanut industry and also coming nearer home to our potteries. Potteries are purely chemical industries and if we are trying to do something for it I do not know. There is nothing for us to deplore in the failure. Such failures are quite common in almost all scientific industries. To give only one instance I may take the German Optical Glass Industry. Everybody who is aware of microscope is quite familiar with Zeis Microscopes. This was started by a few Professors in combination with the glass manufacturer and the company or the combination went into insolvency only three times and the other manufacturers made use of that fact and these people were simply ridiculed. They said their microscopes were meant for use though not scientific. This was the criticism that was levelled. But to-day most of the microscope manufacturers will be glad to say, if they can say so, that our microscopes are as good as Zeis Microscopes. So that, if you want to do anything by way of industrial regeneration or industrial realisation you shall have to incur not only a large expenditure but also incur or prepare for ourselves a very large army of scientific workers. Because we have none of the advantages which Germans or other European nations had a few years ago. They had to compete with people who were never their equals in the scientific field but we have now to compete with people who are far in advance of us. This principle has also to be borne in mind and it is a matter of opinion how far we should industrialise ourselves, *i. e.*, whether it is a matter that is desirable or whether we have to go to cottage industries. These are all matters of opinion and I am not at present prepared to say anything about the

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nature of the industries that we may have hereafter to encourage, as to whether they should be on a big manufacturing scale or whether they should be on a cottage scale just because I have not studied the problem.

As far as some of the expressions used by the non-official members I have only to say that as people flock together and yet do not develop any kind of real bond of friendship, their dealings with each other simply become a real struggle for existence and as it is not either among plants or animals but among human beings with heart I am only sorry to say that it becomes even a sort of moral—excuse me the word—putrefaction.

Now coming to the educational Budget of the Cranganur Principality I have only to say this. The expenditure on education in Cranganur this year is about Rs. 60,000 and in 1109 it has been brought down to Rs. 51,000. The strength in the Girls' School, especially in the Upper Secondary Department, is much smaller than what it is elsewhere, so that as suggested in the Survey Report, page 38 para 132 I think a via media can be found between co-education and a separate Girls' High School. All that is necessary is to set apart a few class rooms either in the same institution or construct a few rooms in the same compound for the girls. Have a parallel set of classes for girls with two or three lady teachers. The supervision may be entrusted with the same Headmaster and even some of the specialist staff can be utilised for both sections. This will effect a saving of the supervision charges and also the charges on account of the specialist teachers. It will be a via media and after working it for some time we may either have co-education or go in for separate schools for boys and girls.

I fully appreciate, that all our deserving youths could not be absorbed in the service of the State and they are forced to seek their opportunities elsewhere. In this connection I have to point out that Cochin is yet too small and I do not know whether it can afford sufficient scope for all its best talents. Until we have a university it is very doubtful whether in Cochin, however great he may be, one can hope to rise to the position of a vice-chancellor. I say that the brainy youths of this place have naturally to turn to outside and in that respect we are not a solitary example. We are somewhat like the Scotch people. Though their country is very small we find them all over the world. I have travelled a little in India and I am glad to say that wherever I went at least one student of this College greeted me in Malayalam and put the question "മാന്യർ എങ്ങനെ ഒക്കെ" If ever I were to abscond I can never do it without being found

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out. That was one difficuly that I found. So far as the educational policy of the State is concerned anybody should be satisfied if he can so equip the youth as to make him efficient in the battle of life. In days of an All-India outlook I should think it will be a retrograde policy if we think of only Cochin and try to stultify all our ambitions. Mr. President, I have finished. But I will talk about one subject and that is about the College extension. It is undertaken by the Government to satisfy a popular demand for higher education of our people here. This is more than borne out by the large number of applications year after year. In fact more than what we can accomodate in the college. This is in spite of the fact that simultaneously with the raising of this College to the first grade, a little before or a little after other institutions have also sprung up in the neighbourhood and they too are quite full. So in the face of such facts I don't know whether it is yet time for us to say that the higher collegiate education is a barren or fruitless one. If the House think that in effect it caters for unemployment it is simply because we stop, as I have pointed out before, half way. Higher research in industries and schemes of rural reconstruction I think are sufficiently large to absorb our educated even for sometime to come. So far as I am concerned I am not aware of any communal spirit in the College. I have even had a cosmopolitan dinner once held in the College Hall and I am glad to be able to say that it was very well attended. We made provision for about 100 and odd people and there were only 8 seats vacant.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—The report is otherwise.

Mr. K. Narasimha Pai.—The depressed class students of the College were present and if my testimony can be accepted I should consider that they were as happy as they could possibly be. (*Hear, hear.*) So far as community or communal spirit is concerned—if I may be excused a personal note—I may say that so far as politics are concerned I am neither a Brahmin, a non-Brahmin, Muslim, or Christian of any denomination. In fact I can simply compare myself perhaps with the Jew (*Laughter*).

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Sir, I am proud to-day of the fact that I am occupying a fairly unique position in so far as I am perhaps the only member on the Government side who has had the privilege of having been a non-official and of being now an official member.

I don't find anything much for me to reply about. None of the Hon'ble members ever attacked my department. The only comment that was made against my department was contained in the speech made by the Hon'ble Member for Nemmara and I shall reply to that presently. But before doing that let me assure the non-official members that I have not at all forgotten old

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times. I remember the fights that I used to put up on what I then thought were good non-official causes. I continue to think that they were all good causes. What I want to say at this juncture is only this. Coming over to this side of this House and being in a position to feel at somewhat closer quarters what is going on in this group, I am glad to say, that there is no reason whatsoever for misgivings on the other side. I do not for a moment pretend to say that this Government is a Government that never errs. But I can assure the non-official members that an honest endeavour is being made by the Government to approximate as much as is reasonably possible, to the ideals which are fostered by the non-official members of this House. It is obvious that no Government can cater to all the wishes of all non-official members of a body like this. The non-official members are evidently impressed with the idea that it is always good policy to ask for much more than what they eventually expected to get. If they only ask for what they want, they may not get all that they want to get. That is their fear.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Does the Hon'ble Member mean that we are asking more?

Mr. Thoma sManjuran.—I used to ask for more than what I expected to get.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—We are asking only what we want.

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—May be. What I mean to say is this. It is literally impossible for any Government to satisfy all the requirements put forward by every non-official member.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—What about the majority?

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—With regard to the majority of the non-official members this Government is trying to do all that is humanly possible under the circumstances to realise their desires and satisfy them. Rome was not built in a day and there is absolutely no room for any pessimism. If everything has not been done yet, it is because either the time is not ripe or because it has not yet been feasible.

A lot has been said by several Hon'ble Members about the constitutional question. No doubt an yearning for constitutional advancement is perfectly legitimate and one that should occupy the grave attention of any Government and I believe the attention of the Government is attracted to the question. The difficulties, surrounding facts and imperative other reasons cannot all be ignored by Hon'ble Members when they ask for a rapid grant of all possible constitutional reforms, all at once. We are working amidst surroundings. We are in the midst of various difficulties which I am sure several of the Hon'ble Members do realise.

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Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Are we to regret of our being not a part of a province?

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Personally I have no regrets.

Mr. K. Ayyappan.—Why not move with the times?

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—Patience will lead us to everything. Let us ask for all that we want and continue to ask until we get them. Accept what you get on the way and always ask for more. Let us not lose heart.

I have only to say a few words in reply to the Hon'ble Member for Nemmara. With regard to Magistrates, the Hon'ble Member for Nemmara said that they are slow in disposing of cases. I must candidly say that the statement came to me as a sort of revelation. I have always thought that Cochin judiciary was among the best. But as my Hon'ble friend from Nemmara has perhaps more experience than I because he has got great practice in our courts and in British India, he may possibly be right, and I assure that the Government will screw up Magistrates to expedite their work, if the alleged laxity is found to exist.

With regard to the introduction of the Criminal Procedure Code, as it exists in British India, I may assure him that the spade work has been done and early steps will be taken to introduce the Code to Cochin. In all probability that bill will be introduced during the next Legislative Session.

With regard to the request that the Munsiffs may be allowed shorthand typists, I suppose the Hon'ble Member for Nemmara is aware that this Council has passed already a bill in that matter.

Mr. K. G. Nayar.—Is it put into actual practice?

Mr. Thomas Manjuran.—The law is promulgated. No Munsiff has been given a shorthand typist yet. There are Munsiffs who probably badly require shorthand typists. But I can definitely say from my experience that all Munsiffs do not require shorthand typists. I am sure the Government will look into the matter, and wherever there is real necessity shorthand typists will be appointed.

A word may be stated about the usurious regulation. There, no doubt exists a Usurious Act in British India. But I think there is not much usury going on in Cochin. I find that a usury bill was actually passed by this House some time ago, and that it could not be promulgated on account of some difficulty or other. The matter will be considered by the Government. I may assure the Hon'ble Member for Nemmara that this State has all along been trying to bring Cochin Legislation into line with that in British India and wherever possible we are trying to approximate as much as possible to the British India stand-

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ard. And there is no reason why we should lag behind in the field of legislation.

Mr. P. V. Subramania Ayyar.—I shall thank all the Hon'ble Members for the very favourable remarks made about the framing of the budget. No doubt, some of the Hon'ble Members had characterised the budget as either a family budget or a budget in which all the Development Departments have not been sufficiently provided for. By whatever name the budget may be called I am certain that they will consider that the budget presented before them is more parental than any of the budgets they have hitherto had. Based on the previous 4 or 5 years, the Hon'ble Members will find that the receipts in the budget of this year were neither underestimated nor the expenditure overestimated. There is a certain remark made by some of the Hon'ble Members on the other side—I think by the Member for Irinjalakkuda—that the surplus was due to the fact that the expenditure was not being properly estimated. It was just the other way. In spite of the fact that large provisions were made for development departments the Government did see that unavoidable expenditure alone is incurred in the course of the year and whatever could be avoided was deferred for subsequent years so that there would be no real waste. It is by this process of controlling expenditure that these savings of three to five lakhs have been found from year to year.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Were there not always surpluses more than what was anticipated?

Mr. P. V. Subramania Ayyar.—We are not going on actualities. We are only estimating. I may explain the savings as due to the fact that we have been controlling expenditure and estimating receipts in the proper way.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Is it not a fact that you are always overestimating expenditure and underestimating revenues?

Mr. P. V. Subramania Ayyar.—It is not the case.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—Then how is it that it always ended in a surplus?

Mr. P. V. Subramania Ayyar.—The only thing for consideration is whether all development departments were sufficiently provided for and whether services had been provided for to a greater extent. In regard to travelling allowances, contingencies, etc., it will be found that only bare necessities have been provided for in this year's budget. Then there was another remark made by the Hon'ble the nominated Member that savings effected from Revenue must not be utilised for capital expenses. It is true that capital works are made from borrowed amounts; but not always.

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Mr. A. Sankara Poduval.—I understood the President to say that the Finance Member will make a statement whether Cranganur Budget would be a deficit budget or otherwise.

President.—Yes.

Mr. P. V. Subramania Ayyar.—The deficit will be covered, I think, by receipts from Income-tax by contribution from the State. As regards suggested borrowings for capital works, borrowing does not end by itself. We have to make allowances for sinking funds, interest charges, etc., from the revenues of the State. Regarding the provision for income-tax I have to thank the Hon'ble Member for Trichur for pointing out the omission of income-tax under receipts of Cranganur. But we had no sufficient statistics, to provide for Cranganur alone. The statistics were collected for the whole State.

President.—The lips of the President are always sealed. I was feeling rather gratified at this. Having been the Leader of the House, I was having the pleasure of making long speeches at the previous Budget sessions. But now being in the Presidential Chair, I thought that I would be getting some compensation by being here. I thought I would not be put to the necessity of making any speech other than what is absolutely necessary. The rules provide that the President may make a few remarks after the Finance Member's speech.

I am going to make a few simple statements about certain important matters raised in the discussion. But I find the House is not quite full. As the matter is so very important and as there is no urgency about it, the Hon'ble Members will await the occasion of my concluding speech on the closing day. I have no objection to speak now; but I find the House is not at all full.

Mr. A. Sankara Poduval.—If it relates to any constitutional matter may I request the President to make it before the demand under General Administration is moved?

Persident.—You expect me to speak on what is going on in England, *i. e.*, the Federal Scheme.

Mr. K. G. Nayar.—On all other matters also as you please.

President.—Don't you think that the President is the President of the officials as well as the non-officials? Do you want him to divest himself of that impartial role and to pose himself as the Head of the Government to explain to you the Government policy? If you will allow your President to speak on behalf of the Government, I will.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—It is the misfortune of the Diwan being the President. We cannot help it.

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President.—I shall begin straight without going round about. We will begin from the Report of the States Enquiry Committee known as the Davidson Committee. The proposals of the Davidson Committee, I think, are all known to the Hon'ble Members, and you do not want me to repeat them here now. What is proposed with reference to the Cochin Port, the Hon'ble Members have by this time known or are expected to know them. The States Enquiry Committee, presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Davidson presented their report to His Majesty's Government and that report was considered at the Third Round Table Conference. At that Conference our Diwan was specially deputed to represent the position of Cochin and then to bring home to the Conference the erroneous nature of the recommendations made by the Davidson Committee. Well, the proceedings of the Third Round Table Conference are all printed in this book. (*Published Report was shown.*) It is worth only 10 annas. Copies of this book can be had from anywhere. The memorandum presented by our Diwan has been printed as an appendix to this report and it has become public property. He has very cogently and very strongly met all the arguments advanced in the Davidson Committee's report. It is only a suggestion made by the Davidson Committee. It was not within the terms of reference. As you call in Law it is only an *obiter dictum*. There was no necessity for them to make that recommendation. The Diwan when he went to England presented a memorandum pointing out in clear terms all the fallacies in the arguments adduced by the Davidson Committee for purchasing the rights of Travancore and Cochin. I would give this book now to the Leader of the Progressive Party. What a bold fight has been put up by Mr. Herbert and how he has championed our cause will be evident from his memorandum. After the Third Round Table Conference, you know, the next step of His Majesty's Government was to issue the White Paper. The copies of the White Paper can be had for a small price of 8 annas or so. The White Paper is in two parts, one the Proposals Proper and the other an Explanatory Memorandum. There you will be glad to note that none of the recommendations of the Davidson Committee in regard to the Cochin Port finds a place even in that document. When our Diwan was deputed to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee, certain important points have been noted in respect of which evidence has to be given. The memorandum was prepared before he left for England. Perhaps you will excuse me an old man pretending to be a young man as the Hon'ble Member for Kattur said. Though an old man, I can still repeat the contents of the memorandum but I do not want to inflict that thing on you. Six vital points are touched

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in it. It is no sealed book. Copies were printed as soon as our Diwan proceeded to London. There are about 87 members including the Indian Delegates and Members of the Committee. The first point relates to Customs Revenue. What is very explicitly stated in the memorandum to the Third Round Table Conference—that memorandum is a clear analysis of all the reasons—is that Cochin cannot exist as a unit unless we get our Customs Revenue as stipulated before. That is the first point of evidence. The second point is about Salt. We have got a monopoly over Salt. The Davidson Committee has conceded that the State should not be deprived of the immunities they now enjoy in respect of salt monopoly. The other point is the contributions—subsidies—that we pay. They said if the contributions that the Indian States are now paying is more than the capitalised value of the immunity they enjoy then we must be given some relief in that contribution. It is some kind of mathematical calculation as (a plus b) (a minus b). We say we do not want any of our rights to be relinquished, we want our rights to continue in respect of the monopoly of salt and other matters unimpaired. The next point relates to what is known as Corporation tax, or Income tax, levied from Joint Stock Companies. You will find if you read the provisions of the Income Tax Regulation that there is tax on income, tax on salaries, tax from mercantile income and tax from professions and of all these things the heaviest item is what is known as the corporation tax, that is the tax we get from joint stock companies where the maximum rates are charged. In most of the Indian States and British India there are joint stock companies. The only thing I can say about this is, the European commercial element has got a very large interest in all these corporations and joint stock companies. They think that after ten years the whole of the corporation tax must be a federal revenue, and that no unit should have any hand, in it. All the Indian States have protested against this and Cochin has also protested. Then we come to the Inland Waterways. We have got our Alwaye River, Chettuvaya-Mathilakam Canal where one half portion is British, another Travancore and Cochin. Of these inland waterways, the idea appears to be that jurisdiction be vested in the Federal Government. There must be only federal laws, and that these should be delivered to the Federal Government. Though the units may administer the laws, the control must be with the Federal Government. If you read the White Paper, you will get full particulars. But in our interests, so far as the inland water-ways are concerned the *status quo* must remain unimpaired.

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Then the other question relates to the Railway. Now in all the Indian States, even in the biggest States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda and Kashmere, the civil and criminal jurisdiction over the railway line has always been transferred to the British Government. The Chamber of Princes has raised a point about it. They say, we do not like that thing. Our administrations are all well advanced and we do not want any others to exercise jurisdiction and they wanted to restore the whole jurisdiction to the State. Then, as a matter of compromise, it was suggested that so far as the main arteries of railways are concerned, the British Government, should continue to have the jurisdiction; but in regard to the branches, the jurisdiction should be restored to the Indian States. This is also one of the points not specifically referred in the White Paper. If you read the proceedings of the Third Round Table Conference, you will find that it was claimed by the Princes there that the jurisdiction must be given back to the States before they enter the Federation. These are the five points.

Then about the seats to be allotted for appointment in the Federal Legislature. Now this is confidential. But I may tell for the information of the House that we have almost succeeded in getting adequate allotment in the Upper Champer. So far as the Lower Chamber is concerned no decision has been arrived at. But so much I can say, that Cochin will get her due quota. But the matter is still under negotiation.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—What is the nature of the representation? Is it by nomination or by election ?

President.—That is a thing which has to be decided later on.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—That is the most important point.

President.—I do not claim any special knowledge on these matters. I have read the papers and made a study of these things. These are the points. Our Diwan went there and studied the whole thing and gave evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the afternoon of 7th July. Writing to me on the same date, he said to me that the evidence was quite favourable. But the financial points will be examined later on. This is the stage at which the matter stands. But I do not know what all particular questions were put to him at the time of the examination and who all examined him. The only question that we know of was one put by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Ayyar to the effect whether there was any agreement between the India, Madras, Cochin and Travancore Governments. For such details we are waiting for his return. I may also tell you that he will arrive at Bombay on the 10th of August and he will be here

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on the 13th of August. I will mention all the things that have taken place here. Though there may not be a meeting of this Council before Vrischigam next, I would request him to give the public an idea of what has taken place. Now I have given you all information available with me.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—Then what about the jurisdiction of the Harbour?

President.—That is a matter with which the Joint Select Committee has nothing to do. There should not be any interference with the limits or with the boundaries of any of the State Units of the Federation. That is a point to be settled by His Majesty's Government. Cessation of territories or taking away of jurisdiction does not at all arise now. Such matters do not come within the purview of the Joint Select Committee nor does it find a place in the White Paper.

Dr. A. R. Menon.—You were discussing about it at Ootty.

President.—I told you where the matter stood. We have shown a very bold front, and we will never hand over jurisdiction if it be over a 'GOSPADAM.' Eating the salt of Cochin as I have been for the last 40 years, I have been fighting her cause to the marrow of my bones. I did my best.

A personal note from me. This morning, though under Rule 25 (c) no Member should make any personal reference and though I hoped that my good old friends would support me, some of you made some personal reflection which hit me most. I thought the House would support me then. But the House did not support me. I am so sorry for that. I have been doing my duty. I do not want to mention any names. You can find out for yourselves.

Because in my capacity as Acting Diwan of Cochin I carried out certain orders of the permanent Diwan, after I assumed charge, because I did not do a certain thing to a particular community, I am now taken to task and I am criticised as an old man and antidiluvian and something like that. Where I expected support and kindness from you, my good old friends, I did not get any support this morning. I had to sit alone and to furrow my own plough. So far as Cochin interests are concerned they are absolutely safe in the hands of the permanent Diwan and what we have to do we have done already. So far there is no reason for anxiety. With these remarks I now adjourn the House.

The House rose for the day at 4·37 p. m.

C. J. MATHEW,
Secretary to the Council.

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